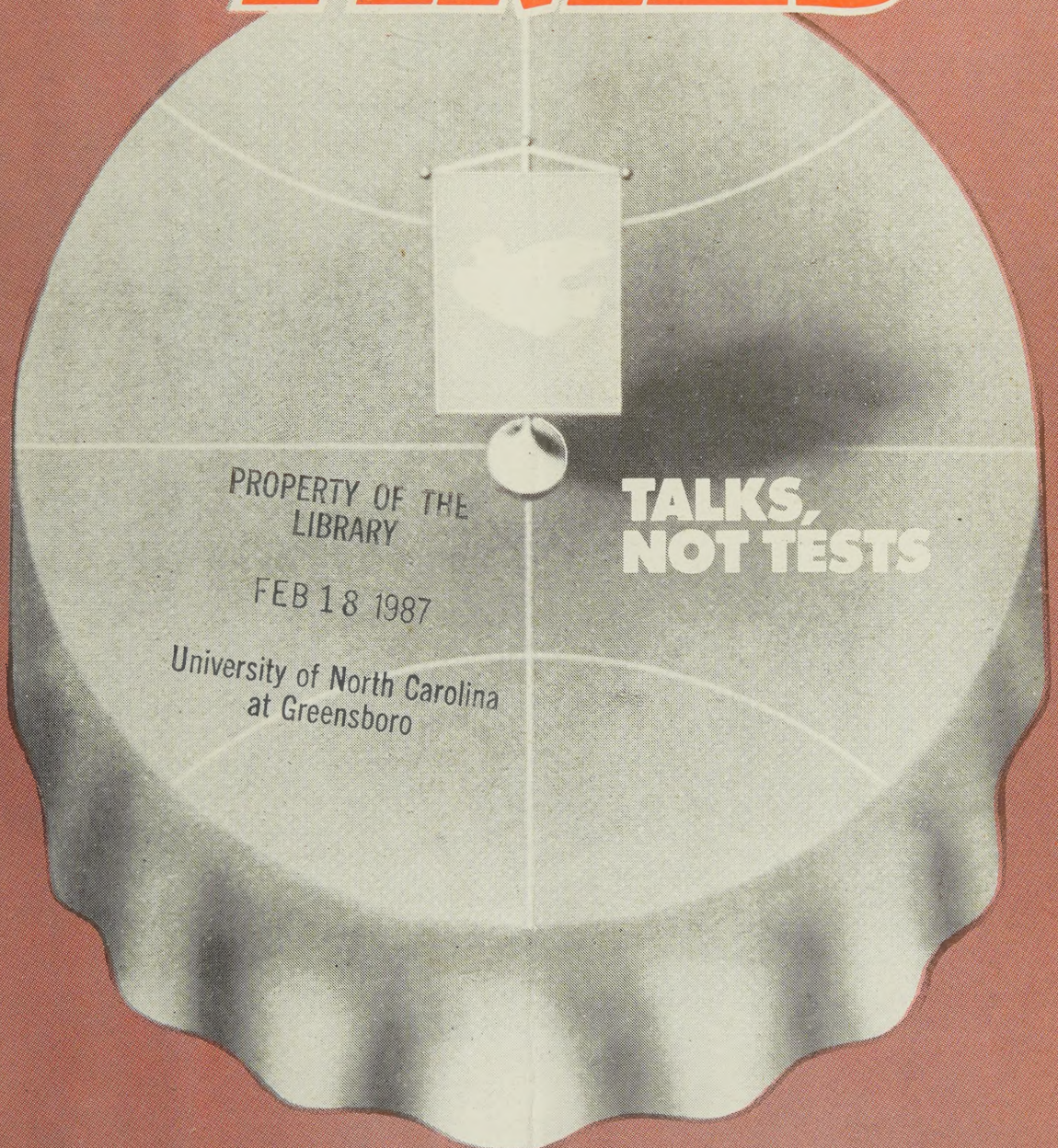
A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

Spotlight on GWEN

NEW TIMES



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TALKS, NOT TESTS

PRESENT-DAY INQUISITORS

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PLACIDO DOMINGO, KING OF THE OPERA

1917–1987

On July 6, 1918, the left Socialist - Revolutionaries staged an uprising in Moscow and assassinated the German Ambassador von Mirbach to provoke Kaiser Germany to invade Soviet Russia. U.S. President Wilson seized the opportunity to dispatch American troops to Russia. At the end of July U.S. forces landed near Archangel where the British had already intruded, and in the middle of August a U.S. expeditionary corps arrived in Vladivostok. Japan sent a 70,000-strong army to the Soviet Far East. By that time Central Asia and the Transcaucasus were occupied by the British. The Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic states were in the hands of a German army of occupation, and French warships appeared off the Black Sea coast. A crusade against Soviet Russia began aimed at "strangling Bolshevism in the cradle," as Winston Churchill put it.

Early in 1919 the U.S. State Department drew up a map of Soviet Russia which allotted it only the Central Russian Upland. The remaining territory was to go under the rule of the United States and its partners. The explanatory note to the map specified that Russia should be divided into natural regions none of which should be independent enough to form a strong state.

With the interventionists to support it, the internal counterrevolution raised its head. By the summer of 1918 three quarters of the territory of the republic had been seized by the White Guard forces and the troops of the Entente countries.

The armed foreign intervention was a heinous act of violence against the revolutionary working people of Russia, an instance of state terrorism with regard to the Soviet land. It was essentially through the efforts of world imperialism that the country was plunged into civil war.

The bitter and bloody struggle with the interventionists and the counterrevolution went on for five years. The turning point came with the victories of the young Red Army over the White Guard hordes. The intervention in Soviet Russia was smashed. Armed force did not break the will of the people to freedom and independence. At that difficult time the Soviet government offered other countries peace and cooperation, thereby advancing new principles of relations between nations. It urged that peaceful coexistence, not power politics, must henceforth be the hallmark of civilization.

Landing of American forces of intervention in Vladivostok in 1918.

Odessa came under French occupation in 1918.

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

5

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CONTENTS

2
The Editor's Page

3
Opinion Poll:
Is a Nuclear-Free World Possible!
Answers from Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union (U.S.S.R.), Volker Rühe, deputy CDU/CSU leader in the West German Bundestag, Evgeny Velikhov, Vice-President of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, and the Portuguese writer Mario Neves

6
Panorama

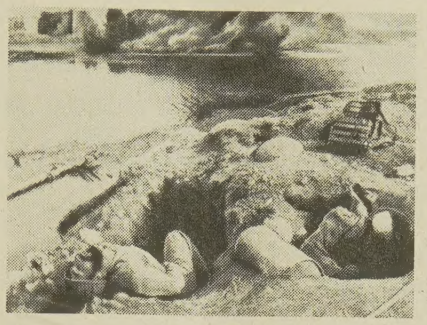
9
Reflections
Alexander Bovin
Memory: A Factor to Be Set in Motion

11
F.R.G.
Alexander Tolpegin
The Bundestag Election: Losses for the Right

12
New Times Investigates: Spotlight on GWEN

14
Miklos Ovari, Politbureau Member, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party
If an Enterprise Is Losing Money...

16
Science and Technology



22
Iran—Iraq
Leonid Medvedko
Hell in the Garden of Eden

24
Music
Anatoly Medvedenko
Placido Domingo, King of the Opera

26
Tunisia
Albert Grigoryants
Changing Face of an Ancient Land

28
Medicine
Valery Kondakov
New Lease of Life for Old Recipes

30
Tribute to Vladimir Vysotsky
Ales Adamovich and Bulat Okudzhava
He Believed in Truth

32
Sports
Grandmaster Alexei Suetin
Europe's Junior Chess Champion

COVER:

Poster by Iordan Petrov (Bulgaria)

18

PRESENT-DAY INQUISITORS

The French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre called torture "the plague of our age." That plague is still killing and maiming people in many countries. Doctrines have even been thought up to justify torture.

NEW TIMES

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FROM OUR MAILBAG

I am sure that for as long as the post of President of the United States is occupied by a man who could not care less about the destiny of mankind, violence and militarism will continue to determine U.S. policy. Really radical changes are needed for the United States to stop preparing to destroy the world by means of nuclear arms.

Baire CAMPAÑA
Havana, Cuba

Your magazine has lately written a good deal about joint enterprises in the U.S.S.R. with the participation of industrially developed capitalist countries. In this connection I should like to ask the following question: will the governments of these countries guarantee the activities of the firms that are taking part in such an important international undertaking? Is there not the possibility that the leaders of some country may suddenly recall their citizens, or simply cease to cooperate with us? After all, we have known more than one instance of politics rudely intervening in economic matters.

A. MARTYNOV
Perm Region, U.S.S.R.

I want you to know that as an old Communist I ardently support all the Soviet peace proposals. Thanks to the U.S.S.R. we are living in peace and, looking to your country, the peoples of the world hope that peace will continue to be maintained. I would also like to advise you to publish more materials about Communist parties in capitalist countries and not to avoid controversial issues. This particularly concerns the Italian Communist Party, which has been functioning in a bourgeois democracy for much longer than the Communist Party in, for example, my country.

Manuel JIMENEZ TIENDA
Valencia, Spain

THE EDITOR'S PAGE

MASK GAME

In American shops that deal in such wares you can buy masks of all kinds, including a mask of the President. An exotic souvenir, if you wish. It is made of some soft material and is an excellent likeness, down to the wrinkles and the inevitable smile.

They have a weakness for masks at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington. Practically every day a new one is tried on. What is it today—peace and good will?

In a New Year's message addressed to the Soviet people Reagan averred that he and the American people were hoping and praying for lasting peace between the two countries. The American and Soviet peoples, he said, have something in common, something that unites them—common hopes. We reached agreement, he went on, as regards the desirability of real reductions of nuclear arsenals, and also on the elimination of all nuclear weapons as the ultimate goal.

That was yesterday's mask, today it is bellicosity.

"Restoring America's strength has been one of our administration's highest goals. . . . Underlying these hopes for progress toward a lasting world peace . . . was the knowledge that at last the United States could once again deal with the Soviet Union from a position of strength." (From a radio address to the Americans.)

Just as if there had been no Reykjavik, where the Soviet leader handed the U.S. President a comparative table showing the quantity of strategic offensive armaments in the possession of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. (See page 8.)

What strikes the eye is that the desire for peace is declarative while the bellicosity is confirmed by actions. Congress is asked for funds for new arms programmes. Strategic arms limitation treaties are flouted, and behind the backs of the American people fuel in the shape of American arms is added to the flames of conflicts in regions far removed from America's shores.

During the past few days even the talk among the President's entourage has become increasingly belligerent.

There is talk about the possible stage-by-stage deployment of elements of SDI in the early 1990s. But what about Reagan's agreement in Reykjavik not to deploy space weapons systems for ten years? Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger raises his eyebrows in surprise: Partial deployment of SDI would enhance the chances for progress at the Geneva negotiations, he says.

There is talk about mounting the MX missiles on railway trucks. What about the recent American proposal to ban the use of mobile launchers for strategic missiles? Was there such a proposal?

Truly "in our administration the right hand doesn't know what the far-right hand is doing," as the President once remarked. Or is it just pretending not to know?

Reagan has hedged in with reservations his time-yellowed request to Congress to ratify the 1974 and 1976 treaties on limiting the yield of underground nuclear tests. For instance, as a prelude to ratification, the Senators are to insist on the conclusion of an additional agreement with the Russians on control—otherwise, it is argued, they will just go on violating everything. Evidently the unilateral Soviet moratorium on all nuclear explosions also falls into the category of violations.

The mask game is producing results. True, not always the desired results. After all, 53 per cent of Americans, according to opinion polls, believe the President tells the truth only in some cases. In other words, they do not believe their leader. What, then, can one say of the people in other countries who expect the United States to take a responsible attitude to world affairs? An attitude which is so vitally necessary in this nuclear age.

IS A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD POSSIBLE?

AND WHAT IN YOUR OPINION ARE THE PREREQUISITES FOR INTERNATIONAL STABILITY?

Lev Tolkunov:

A REALISTIC AIM

Lev Tolkunov is chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

Three objective factors enforce our hopes for a nuclear-free world. Firstly, the growing awareness the world over of the senseless, catastrophic character of the policy of confrontation in this nuclear age. The new political thinking prescribes restrained, prudent, civilized, tactful behaviour on the international scene. Secondly, the growth of the forces of peace and progress capable of neutralizing the threat emanating from international reaction. The socialist community, the developing countries and the non-aligned movement, the mass democratic and anti-war movements, and the U.S.S.R.'s dynamic foreign policy are steadily expanding and consolidating the vast potential that exists for peace, common sense and good will. Thirdly, and finally, an explicit reply to the cardinal issue of our time: where are we going and how should we cope with the problems that the present-day world has burdened us with? The reply is furnished by the new, comprehensive concept of international security put forward by the Soviet Union, a concept that proceeds from equal security for all by reducing armaments, and by disarmament until all types of weapons of mass destruction have been completely abolished.

It would be naive to presume that these three objective factors operate automatically. On the contrary, to rid humanity's horizons forever of the storm clouds of the nuclear threat, action is essential—well conceived, fireless, constructive action to end the arms buildup. Here, modern military technology and the overall strategic situation do not permit of isolated localized face-lifts. The elimination of one type of weapons or even of an assortment of such types will not eradicate the threat of war, or guarantee genuine security. What is needed is a comprehensive approach, a package solution for all aspects of disarmament. Such was the solution we offered at Reykjavik.

We put on the table a package of interconnected proposals, carefully balanced from the angle of the interests of the parties to the talks. Our basic proposals were to halve strategic armaments within five years and subsequently destroy all of them, dismantle all medium-range missiles deployed in Europe, and observe the ABM treaty and the nuclear test ban. Need we say that acceptance of the Soviet package would have meant a turn of the tide of world history?

At the time much that was put forward evoked no reservations whatever from the American side. What has happened since? Why does the U.S. seek to break up the package of compromises and reciprocal interests put together at Reykjavik? The answer is plain: to secure unilateral advantages in order to proceed with the futile pursuit of the chimera of military superiority.

That is why the U.S. is backing away from the Reykjavik accords. Today it is talking of abolishing ballistic missiles only. We too advocate eliminating such missiles by the close of 1996, but together with the entire strategic triad. That is exactly what the parties agreed upon at Reykjavik—to abolish all strategic offensive weapons within ten years. Washington is now brushing this accord away in an attempt to secure an overwhelming military advantage in the other components of the triad, that is, heavy bombers, as well as forward-based nuclear facilities, including carrier-based aircraft.

The issue of intermediate-range missiles was likewise considered as part of the composite package at Reykjavik. Here again understanding became apparent, from which the U.S. is now completely disavowing. Today it has placed the stress not so much on intermediate-range missiles as on missiles of a shorter range. Forgetting the agreement reached to abolish intermediate-range missiles, and Soviet preparedness to freeze missiles with a shorter range and negotiate their fate, the U.S. administration seeks the right to "rearmament" with regard to these missiles. But this is hardly compatible with the task of ridding Europe of the burden of nuclear and missile weaponry.

The U.S. desire to be entitled to deploy intermediate-range missiles in Alaska, its abandonment of the Reykjavik agreement on limiting sea-based strategic cruise missiles, and, chiefly, its obstructionist tactics on the issue of preventing the militarization of space, show its reluctance to take the other side's security interests into account. The U.S. is preparing to break up the ABM treaty and the Reykjavik package completely and irrevocably. The Pentagon is already seeking the phased deployment in space of an anti-missile defence system from the early 1990s. It has not the slightest intention of abandoning the SDI programme and is striving to legalize the right to test ABM facilities in space. It is completely opposed to the cessation of nuclear testing, which it regards as indispensable to the development of weapons for "star wars."

Finally, it must be recalled that it was after Reykjavik that the U.S. struck at the pattern of basic accords on strategic arms limitation, by resolving to wreck the SALT-2 treaty. This reveals Washington's reckless urge to upset military parity between the

U.S.S.R. and the U.S. and secure military superiority for itself.

The course the U.S. has adopted is aggravating the international situation and placing formidable obstacles in the way of curbing the arms race. However, we have no reason to be pessimistic. The Reykjavik summit, Mikhail Gorbachev noted in his letter to U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, has raised nuclear disarmament to an unprecedentedly high plateau, from which new vistas opened up. This inspires hopes that the persistent efforts to slash and completely eliminate nuclear weapons will eventually bear fruit. ■

Volker Rühe:
DISARMAMENT NOT AN END IN ITSELF

Volker Rühe is deputy chairman of the CDU/CSU faction in the West German Bundestag.

The fact that for 40 years there has been no war between East and West due to reciprocal nuclear deterrence represents the point of depature in the effort to rid the world of nuclear weapons. Wars can no longer be fought: nuclear or conventional, they are out of the question.

To rid the world of nuclear weapons it will be necessary not only to eliminate such weaponry throughout the world, but also to ensure comprehensive confidence-building control through on-site inspection to prevent the clandestine manufacture of nuclear weapons. After all, even in a world freed of nuclear weaponry, the knowledge of how such weapons are manufactured will be available. A total verifiable ban on nuclear weapons is an issue that concerns not only East and West, but all states, especially those that already possess nuclear weapons or are capable of manufacturing them, as well as states that might produce them in future.

The paramount political requisite is to exclude every reason for stockpiling nuclear weapons East or West. This means it is vital in principle to settle the conflict between East and West. In other words, the confrontation of "antagonistic" systems must be eliminated and, moreover, without either system gaining the upper hand over the other. Great progress must also be made in settling regional conflicts.

Europe must in the first place have a just and lasting peace with proper guarantees of security. This means that the prohibition of the use of force should be backed up by greater openness and freedom of movement, unhampered contacts between people in East and West, unlimited opportunities to travel, intensive economic, cultural, scientific and technological exchanges, the guaranteed free exchange of views for all, including dissidents, and freedom for political prisoners. In the military sphere it should be backed up by an approximate equilibrium in conventional armaments at the lowest possible level. As far as we Germans are concerned, such a world should give the German nation a chance to achieve unity in conditions of free self-determination.

However, that kind of world can only come about over a lengthy period, stage by stage. Hence at the outset it will be necessary to reduce the conflict between East and West by demonstrating preparedness to enter into a broad dialogue, more extensively controlling crisis situations and negotiating and agreeing on arms control.

As for nuclear disarmament, the task ahead is the phased implementation of practical moves in that direction. Although Reykjavik failed to produce a joint decision, it did offer good prerequisities for drastic disarmament measures, provided efforts are focussed at the Geneva talks on formalizing the accords reached at Reykjavik. They include:

— readiness on both sides to abolish completely all intermediate-range missiles with an enhanced range of operation in Europe, plus their reduction in the Asian part of the U.S.S.R. and in America to 100 units;

— readiness to negotiate subsequently on intermediate-range missiles of a shorter range of operation, after agreement has been reached on missiles with a longer range of operation;

— readiness to halve strategic forces within five years.

Such disarmament measures would naturally contribute to the solution of other still controversial aspects of disarmament. Consequently, it would be vital for these measures to be taken without delay.

Regrettably, the Soviet Union has made the implementation of disarmament measures dependent on a solution of the issue of SDI. More specifically, as far as intermediate-range missiles are concerned, such an artificial linkage of issues means more than stepping down from the general principle of negotiation to which the U.S.S.R. adhered after the 27th CPSU Congress and up to Reykjavik, envisaging solutions to the two issues independently of one another.

Further, a policy based on the "all or nothing" principle which, as is well known, leads to impasses, obstructs the implementation of those practical disarmament measures that people look forward to so eagerly. Moreover, this position manifestly conflicts with the Soviet desire for drastic disarmament to rid the world of nuclear weapons.

Should the two sides accept, in the process of the stage-by-stage implementation of practical disarmament measures, the "zero option" with regard to intermediate-range missiles with an enhanced range of operation, then a solution must also be found to the problem of Soviet superiority in nuclear missiles with a shorter range of operation, inasmuch as so far the Soviet Union enjoys a 10:1 superiority in this type of weapon.

For this reason it is important for us that an agreement on a "zero option" for intermediate-range missiles with an enhanced range of operation should include a concrete commitment to subsequently negotiate the reduction of short-range missiles, with both sides entitled to identical ceilings. This means that, in keeping with such a principle of arms control policy as equal rights and equal commitments, the Soviet Union must be prepared here too to grant the West the opportunity to implement its right to an identical ceiling, which the Soviet Union has not hitherto been prepared to do.

Given the desire of both sides to disarm it must always be borne in mind that the implementation of radical confidence-building disarmament measures is interconnected with the overall consolidation of confidence between East and West. Arms control and disarmament is not an end in itself. It cannot be viewed separately from the overall level of East-West relations. It must be seen in the context of a policy of improving and deepening East-West relations right across the board, inasmuch as the antagonism between the two systems is not a consequence of arms but, on the contrary, the accumulated arms are the expression of political confrontation. ■

IS A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD POSSIBLE?

Evgeny Velikhov: INTERNATIONAL SCIENTISTS PROPOSE

Evgeny Velikhov, Vice-President of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, is also chairman of the Soviet Scientists' Committee for Peace, Against Nuclear War Threat.

I will give an unequivocal reply to the first part of your question. Yes, peace of that order is possible. As for how to achieve a nuclear-free world and maintain stability in it, I would like to refer to the arguments put forward by such a prestigious forum as the International Scientists' Peace Congress held in Hamburg, F.R.G., at the close of last year which I attended. That conference, attended by scientists from 23 countries, drafted a document whose provisions, as I see it, largely answer New Times questions.

It was noted there that tens of thousands of warheads were now stockpiled in U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals. That a nuclear war cannot be won and should not be fought is universally recognized. Both sides are vulnerable to a devastating retaliatory strike, regardless of how the conflict may erupt.

In other words, the quantity of nuclear warheads by far exceeds the number needed for mutually assured destruction. On the other hand, attempts to secure nuclear superiority in the obtaining situation are a complete illusion. The objective which the scientists gathered at Hamburg set themselves was to find an alternative to the disastrous nuclear arms race, and evolve a concept of universal security. So what proposals were put forward?

The Hamburg Proposals for Disarmament offer a range of measures whose implementation could substantially reinforce international stability and bring nearer mankind's cherished dream of deliverance from fear of the future, the elimination of the nuclear threat. Allow me to list some of these proposals.

— A ban of all tests of nuclear weapons is necessary and can be adequately verified.

— The production of fissile material for nuclear weapons must be stopped.

— Deep cuts in the number of nuclear weapons can be made and would increase our security.

Provided there is no anti-missile defence, only a few hundred units of nuclear weaponry would be adequate to ensure to either side the full possibility of destroying the other side by a retaliatory strike.

— Adequate verification of deep cuts is possible.

Verification can be carried out by national technical means, more specifically through observation from artificial earth satellites, complemented in certain cases by reciprocal measures.

— Space weapons must be prohibited.

The deployment of anti-missile defence would evoke fears that such a system could be used to back up a first strike. This would compel the other side to deploy additional strategic offensive weapons in order to break through defences. Ways and means of reinforcing, not to mention upholding, the ABM treaty, must be evolved.

— Intermediate- and short-range nuclear weapons must be included in the disarmament process.

Ground-based intermediate-range ballistic missiles create the threat of a surprise attack, as they take a very short time to reach their targets. They are also vulnerable.

The thousands of units of tactical nuclear weapons deployed in Europe must also be dismantled. They lower the threshold of nuclear war and, once fired, would destroy what they are called upon to defend. The establishment of nuclear-free zones, as recommended by the Palme commission, should be seen as the first move.

— Non-nuclear forces must be reduced and given a non-offensive structure.

Inasmuch as the countries of Europe believe they are under threat from an attack by conventional forces, it will be difficult to remove nuclear weapons from Europe. Consequently, it is vital to reduce that threat, and we believe that this can be done by slashing armed forces and armaments, pulling back armed forces on either side of the line of demarcation in Central Europe and, possibly, by having both sides adopt a non-aggressive defence system, wherein the stationed troops would have far more of a defensive than offensive capacity.

— Chemical weapons must be completely banned and the biological weapons convention should be strengthened.

I have listed the basic provisions of the Hamburg Congress's final document. I believe the concrete and realistic proposals that the scientists have put forward conclusively demonstrate that movement towards nuclear disarmament and lasting international stability is possible. Of course, there may be other ideas and projects that could lead to a nuclear-free world and ensure reliable, comprehensive and equal security for all countries and nations. Hopefully, the New Times poll will contribute towards a useful exchange of views on how this objective can be attained.

The scientists' movement for peace, against nuclear war is gathering momentum. In mid-February they are to hold an international forum in Moscow on drastic reductions of nuclear weapons on the way to a nuclear-free world. Scientists have much to say about the problems that are troubling mankind. They have the necessary knowledge competence and prestige to speak out. ■

Mario Neves: COMMON SENSE WILL WIN OUT

The Portuguese writer Mario Neves is president of the Portugal-U.S.S.R. Friendship Association.

This year I had the good fortune to be in Moscow on January 15, the first anniversary of the statement in which General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev put forward a plan for new initiatives in defence of peace, a programme for nuclear disarmament till the end of the century.

Seriously concerned as I am with the cardinal issues of security in the world today, I cannot fail to appreciate the implications of the stubborn urge of the militarists and arms merchants to continue to nurture the arms race and obstruct the abolition of nuclear arsenals. Yet despite these negative factors, which greatly complicate our existence today, I am firmly convinced that the Soviet effort for peace will deliver humanity from the sinister nightmare of nuclear catastrophe and world holocaust.

The good will of the Soviet proposals, the perseverance and remarkable patience with which the Soviet Union is working for the implementation of these proposals, are to be seen as an earnest that the ideas with which these initiatives are imbued will eventually win out. The human feelings so characteristic of what Mikhail Gorbachev says and does fortify the hopes entertained by all men and women of good will that when the century ends the era of fear and horror will be over, and the human race and our millennia-old civilization will have been delivered from the threat of total destruction.

U.S.S.R.—
EUROPEAN
COMMISSION

Dialogue Starts

● THE FIRST MEETING BETWEEN A DELEGATION OF SOVIET EXPERTS AND THE COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES (CEC) WAS HELD IN BRUSSELS ON JANUARY 15-16.

The meeting discussed the procedure for establishing official relations between the Soviet Union and three European Communities: the European Economic Community (EEC), the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), and Euratom.

Below Yuri Buzykin, head of the Soviet delegation at the meeting, is interviewed by New Times.

What prompted the dialogue to establish official relations between the U.S.S.R. and the European Communities (EC)?

The meeting of experts in Brussels followed an exchange of letters between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Willy de Clercq who is responsible for the CEC's foreign relations. A more detailed discussion was made possible and even necessary by the resumption of talks between the CMEA and the EEC. We expect the talks to continue and lead to the early establishment of official relations.

The two major organizations for economic integration in the world are exerting a considerable influence on the development of individual European countries, as well as on international trade and politics. Like some leaders of the Commission member countries, we proceed from the assumption that the states of Europe have mutually complementary economic structures. Because integration processes are on the upgrade in each of the two groups of states, it is only logical for the two organizations and their member countries to establish contacts. So, when the Commission of the European Communities indicated that it would be interested in establishing official relations with the Soviet Union, we said we would be ready to do so after or concurrently with the establishment of official direct relations between the CMEA and the EEC.

"I'm putting my money on that strategic horse."

Cartoon by V. Arsenyev

There is now talk of dialogue between the two international organizations. What bearing does this have on relations between the European Communities and the Soviet Union?

The establishment of official relations between the CMEA and the EEC is of direct relevance to the individual members of the two international organizations, including the Soviet Union. As far as I know, this point of view is shared by the Commission of the European Communities and the representatives of the individual countries within the Commission. The establishment of official relations between the U.S.S.R. and the European Communities, which is being negotiated simultaneously with the dialogue between the CMEA and the EEC, will pave the way for cooperation in diverse areas. Mutually acceptable agreements on eco-

nomic, scientific and technical cooperation, including trade, will be drawn up and concluded. This will require direct contacts between the Soviet organizations concerned and the CEC.

They will be all the more necessary because the U.S.S.R. is currently reforming its foreign economic activity by establishing direct links between Soviet enterprises and foreign partners, creating joint enterprises and international associations. Direct links between the European Communities and their member countries may open up new and promising prospects.

Would it be true to say that the development of bilateral ties in Europe is directly linked with multilateral cooperation?

Yes. Europe has come a long way and overcome serious obstacles on the path to multilateral cooperation. The Helsinki Final Act of 1975, and last year's Stockholm accords on confidence measures were milestones. Yet it all started with bilateral contacts and progress in establishing political, trade and economic ties between individual countries in Eastern and Western Europe. Clearly, if the Soviet Union did not cooperate with EC states in various areas, it would be unrealistic to talk of official relations between Moscow and Brussels.

On the other hand, the establishment of official relations with the European Communities will boost cooperation with individual European countries.

The results of the first meeting of experts in Brussels are promising. They have by and large agreed on the procedure for the establishment of official relations between the EC and the U.S.S.R. and clarified the corresponding diplomatic procedures. It is also important that the meeting was marked by a constructive spirit and has been seen as productive by both sides. We have agreed to continue the negotiations should the need arise.

CHINA

Main Theme

● BETWEEN DECEMBER 10 LAST YEAR AND EARLY JANUARY THE NATIONAL PAPERS IN THE P.R.C. GAVE WIDE COVERAGE TO THE STUDENT UNREST IN SHANGHAI, HEFEI, WUHAN, TIANJIN, NANKING, BEIJING, AND SOME OTHER CITIES.

The students staged mass demonstrations demanding "democracy," "freedom," and "reform of the political system." In some cities the demonstrations were accompanied by acts of hooliganism.

On January 16 an enlarged meeting of the Politbureau of the CC of the Communist Party of China held in Beijing relieved Hu Yaobang of his post of General Secretary of the CC CPC. A communiqué on the meeting says that Hu Yaobang addressed the meeting, "admitting the errors he had made, in violation of the principle of collective party leadership, on political issues of principle as General Secretary of the CC CPC." The communiqué does not reveal the substance of the errors but calls on the Party to continue, in the external and domestic policy of the P.R.C., to follow the line and principles worked out by the Party's Central Committee since the third plenum of the 11th CC CPC.

The enlarged meeting of the Politbureau unanimously elected Zhao Ziyang, member of the Standing Committee of the Politbureau of the CC CPC, and Premier of the State Council of the P.R.C., as acting General Secretary of the CC CPC.

Reports in the Chinese mass media suggest that the protests by sections of the student population reflected certain phenomena in China's domestic political life regarded as serious and dangerous by the country's leadership.

On December 23, Renmin ribao, the Chinese Communist Party daily, said in its editorial, which was reprinted by all the national papers, that the current reform in the country "represents a profound revolution" and that "divergence of views on specific issues is a normal phenomenon."

But, as Renmin ribao wrote in its New Year editorial, the "reform of the economic system and political reform must always be carried out under Party leadership; they are aimed at perfecting the socialist system and not at weakening or rejecting leadership by the Party." The newspaper criticized "certain comrades who showed weakness and did not have the courage to struggle openly and uncompromisingly" against the current tendency towards bourgeois liberalization.

On January 6, Renmin ribao had this to say of the advocates of "bourgeois liberalization": "We favour a reform of the economic system and they favour the capitalist path. We favour a reform of the political structure, and they want to see it restructured after the Western model. To implement their demands would mean directing current Chinese policy along the capitalist path." In its commentary on January 12, the same paper wrote that the "'Europeanization' they advocated was essentially a complete rejection of the socialist system in China and a clear attempt to impose the capitalist system." However, noted the paper, "the Chinese people, led by the Communist Party, have chosen the socialist path of development once and for all and will never depart from it."

On January 12 the Xinhua agency reported that Guan Weiyan, rector of the Scientific and Technological Institute in Hefei and deputy secretary of the institute's Party committee, and Fang Lizhi, prorector of the same institute, had been relieved of their posts and subsequently expelled from the CPC. The report said that Fang Lizhi had long been advocating bourgeois liberalization, rejection of the Party's leading role and departure from the socialist path. Two days later the Xinhua agency reported that Wang Ruowang, a member of the Board of the Chinese Writers' Union, had been expelled from the Party for "serious breaches of the CPC Rules," "attacking the socialist system and advocating the capitalist path." On January 25 it was announced that Liu Binyan, vice-president of the Board of the Chinese Writers' Union and member of the staff of Renmin ribao who had proclaimed Marxism-Leninism an "outdated ideology" and the CPC a "corrupt party," had been expelled from the CPC.

In opposing bourgeois liberalization, said Li Peng, Vice-Premier of the State Council of the P.R.C., the CPC was combating "an attempt to restore capitalism in China and copy the Western model." On January 15 the Xinhua agency carried a commentary headlined "We Shall Not Tolerate Communists with Special Rights Who Preach Liberalization and Persist in Their Errors." The commentary stressed that such "Communists in name only" were trying to bring pressure to bear on the Party in order to "change its colour and alter the socialist direction of China's development."

The central disciplinary commission of the CPC, in a circular dated January 15, ordered the disciplining, regardless of their post, of those members of the Party who were propagating bourgeois liberalization, and "the resolute expulsion from the CPC of those who, ignoring the warnings of Party organizations and acting wilfully, cause grave damage to the Party."

Mikhail YAKOVLEV

NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

"AFRICA"

● THE REASON FOR THE QUOTATION MARKS AND THE CAPITALS IN THE TITLE, "AFRICA,"

is that the word AFRICA is an acronym for a new international movement: Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid. Its creation was announced in January at the Delhi conference of the heads of state and government of nine non-aligned countries—Algeria, Argentina, Zambia, Zimbabwe, India, Congo, Nigeria, Peru and Yugoslavia. They form the coordinating committee which the 8th non-aligned summit in Harare last September made responsible for organizing assistance to countries affected by the aggressive policies of the South African racist authorities. In carrying out this mandate, the participants in the Delhi meeting set up a special AFRICA-Fund in support of the new movement, chaired by India. Its initial capital is $70 million.

The money will be used to finance a massive programme to boost the economies of the frontline states in southern Africa, which have to repel acts of aggression by the Pretoria racist regime. The fund will help them to implement economic sanctions against the apartheid regime and cope with the consequences of retaliatory measures by South African racists. It will also give material support to the popular liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia.

What will the concrete procedure be for using this fund? A strategic buffer stock of food (150,000 tons) will be set up to make the frontline states independent of food imports from South Africa. The fund will finance their purchases of materials and equipment for their vital industries and transport, which are targets of sabotage by the racists and their hirelings. It will foot much of the bill for supplying fuel to these countries.

On the whole, the measures planned will enable the independent countries in southern Africa gradually to slough off the historically and geographically conditioned dependence of their economies on that of South Africa.

The results of the Delhi meeting accurately reflect the new trend within the non-aligned movement—the promotion of a South-South dialogue, i.e., cooperation and mutual assistance between the developing countries themselves. This process has a marked anti-imperialist thrust: in a special appeal to the international community, the Delhi meeting condemned Pretoria's Western benefactors, particularly the United States, who are aiding and abetting the racists under cover of talk about "constructive engagement," while in fact seeking to maintain their political and strategic hold on southern Africa.

The leaders of the nine non-aligned countries who met in the Indian capital appealed to the states of the world as well as to international and public organizations to make donations to the AFRICA-Fund, which will become a new instrument in the peoples' struggle against racism, that ugly offshoot of imperialism.

Leonid ZHEGALOV
our own correspondent

Delhi

Reykjavik. Documents and Facts

What really happened at the Soviet-American summit in the Icelandic capital? The collection of documents brought out by the Novosti Press Agency helps to establish the truth. It contains the first ever publication of the full text of the Soviet draft directives to the foreign ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. on preparing agreements in the field of nuclear disarmament.

The directives were prepared on the following basis.

STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMAMENTS OF THE U.S.S.R. AND THE U.S.A.* (as of October 11, 1986)

	U.S.S.R.	U.S.A.
IBM launchers	1,398	1,018
These include:		
IBM launchers with multiple independently targetable warheads	820	550
SLBM launchers	922	672
These include:		
SLBM launchers with multiple independently targetable warheads	352	640
Total number of IBM and SLBM launchers	2,320	1,690
These include:		
IBM and SLBM launchers with multiple independently targetable warheads	1,172	1,190
Heavy bombers	160	518
These include:		
HB capable of carrying cruise missiles	53	127
Total number of IBM and SLBM launchers and HB	2,480	2,208
These include:		
IBM and SLBM launchers with multiple independently targetable warheads and HB capable of carrying cruise missiles	1,225	1,317
Total number of warheads on strategic carriers	10,000	14,800

* These data were handed over by the General Secretary of the CPSU to the U.S. President during the Reykjavik meeting.

Memory: A Factor to Be Set in Motion

ALEXANDER BOVIN

The time has come at last when we all feel impelled to speak out about state and Party affairs. Public opinion is becoming more vocal and effective. Work on the pretentious Poklonnaya Gora memorial project has been stopped. The northern rivers have been left to follow their natural course. There is a point, then, in speaking out, in saying "no," in standing up for your opinions....

That is good.

Each of us, of course, sees the time we live in through the prism of his own personal experience. Hence my own observations, my own impressions are limited, subjective. I say this by way of justification for going beyond what is customarily the domain of the writer on world affairs....

■

You open your morning newspaper, you switch on the TV, and everywhere you find yourself in the midst of a struggle for fulfilment of the decisions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, everyone is regearing to the new, everyone is criticizing. In my mind I welcome the critical approach. But my heart aches. Far too much dirt has been allowed to accumulate. Far too many Communists in name only have deceived, betrayed the Party. I tell myself: the truth has a curative effect, it is good that we do not hide our sores. We are bound to go through this if we are to fight for the Party line with clean hands and a clear conscience.

We negate in order to affirm.... But what are we affirming and how? We are affirming the ideas of the 27th Congress. That is as it should be. But unfortunately that is not the case always and everywhere. One hears approximately the same thing from different people. The gap between words and deeds is still great. Far from everywhere do personnel changes result in a radical change in the style and methods of work. In Moscow a new note is struck, but in the localities things go on in the old way: talk about restructuring and acceleration often obscures the absence of one and the other.

And again I tell myself: you can't do everything at once, after all, only a year has passed since the Congress. The change under way is tremendous. And you cannot expect it all to be accomplished overnight. That is true.... But I cannot help thinking that we are underestimating the scale and the strength of the resistance to the strategy of acceleration, to the course steered by the Party towards the qualitative, revolutionary rebuilding of the whole of our way of life. Do we not tend to gloss over the sharpness and depth of the conflict of opinion that is gripping the Party and the country? A bit unseemly, embarrassing, strange, after all, that there should be a struggle over the decisions of a Party Congress in the 70th year of Soviet power....

■

Some time ago, the Literaturnaya Gazeta reported that in Rostov on the Don hundreds of people had given that crook Budnitsky a demonstrative funeral to spite the authorities and public opinion. With these people in mind, the correspondent wrote: "One wants to cry out at the top of one's voice: beware, THEY are on the offensive! It even seems to me that it was not Budnitsky they were burying; they were trying to bury everything new that is coming into being in our lives, in effect—US."

I think so too. THEY have not lost hope of burying US, of preventing us from putting an end once and for all to slovenliness and thriftlessness, injustice and corruption, unquestioned "infallibility" of the "upper echelons," formalism and red tape.

"Homegrown bureaucratic Soviet socialist conservatism"—that is how, in the words of the writer Sergei Zalygin, one might define our main enemy. The old way of doing things fully suited the "Soviet socialist conservatives", and their numerous hangers-on. They are afraid of openness. They have become unaccustomed to mixing with "ordinary" people, talking to them. They do not want independence, because independence carries with it responsibility. They are not in the habit of convincing people, they are in the habit of suspecting and proscribing. That makes things easier for them.

At present they have pulled in their horns. But, I repeat, they have not lost hope. They are biding their time. They have already reared their successors—younger functionaries, more sophisticated in manner, but thinking in terms of past decades, past practices. This kind of new functionary readily talks about turning over a new leaf but whether he is actually doing so is doubtful.

The trouble on previous occasions lay in our indecisiveness, the half-measures we took, our inability to carry things to completion.

My friends reason along these lines: the leadership is fully aware of all this. The key positions are in reliable, energetic hands. The people, the Party uphold the line laid down by the Congress. So don't worry, don't overrate the potential of the men of yesterday. Everything will be in order.

But that kind of reasoning does not reassure me. Because in my lifetime THEY have twice thrown US back, succeeded twice in barring the way to long overdue and urgently needed changes.

■

I cannot but recall the 20th Congress of the CPSU. I matured as a Communist, a citizen, an individual under the impact of that congress. It was then that my own "restructuring," a lifelong restructuring began.

For the young Party functionaries of that time (I was 25 then and worked as head of propaganda department of a Party district committee) the 20th Congress was a purifying stormwind, which made it possible to look to the future with hope. We began to learn to think, to act, to speak our minds. And it was with bewilderment, pain, with a revolting sense of my own helplessness that I and my generation saw the ideas of one of the

truly historic congresses of our Party sink into the quicksands of bureaucracy.

We failed at that time to revive the invigorating democracy of the Leninist standards of Party and state life, to overcome the habit of mute obedience, of kowtowing to authority, to speak openly and seriously about our own work. Khrushchev, who had hurled a challenge to the proponents of the Stalin personality cult, soon himself began to permit and encourage eulogies of his own person. Brezhnev, a man unquestionably endowed with innate commonsense, allowed himself to be turned into a monument to himself. And this sort of thing spread far and wide like rings on water.

Let us muster our courage and see to it that the moment of truth should not be merely a fleeting instant, but should become an integral part of our life.

I remember the economic reform of 1965. It was decided to remove the administrative fetters, the excessive centralization, the petty tutelage that were strangling the economy in town and countryside. A beginning was made in extending the rights and independence of enterprises, in introducing cost-accounting, learning to combine the plan with commodity-money relations. And again everything vanished into the sands. Again it all went back to economic irresponsibility, endless "adjustments" which covered up deception and self-deception. At the top the right things were said, and needed decisions were taken, but they were invariably negated by apathy and inertia at the executive level.

■

Then came the 27th Congress of the CPSU. Doubly, trebly arduous were the tasks that faced it. It was necessary to go back years to the political and economic problems which we had begun to resolve but had not resolved. And which hence had become all the more difficult, stagnant.

To resolve these problems a great deal is needed. And indeed many levers, many factors—economic, political and ideological—stimulating the restructuring have already been set in motion. There is, however, still another factor to be set in motion, another reserve to be drawn upon. For the present regearing to be successful, we must try to "think back," to remember why the changes embarked upon in 1956 and 1965 ended in failure. .

In all probability the trouble lay in our indecisiveness, the half-measures we took, our inability to carry things to completion. Rights were granted with one hand and taken away with the other. We passed new laws, but left the old regulations intact. We began to speak the truth, but did not go beyond half-truths. And every half-measure, every decision that remains on paper is a bastion, a stronghold for the opponents of change.

Analysis of the events of those years is not a reversion to the past. It is fully in line with today's concerns and anxieties. Some pages from the past which we pass over in silence take their revenge in the form of repetitions of that past. The fact is that today, too, we have not everywhere broken through the barrier of semi-openness and half-truths. Today, too, we have our eye on the brakes even before we have picked up speed.

Is not that perhaps the reason they were so brazen about the Budnitsky funeral? Is it not because of this that THEY are again hoping to outlive US?

Is not this the reason why there are so many onlookers—approving, sympathizing, but not fully believing that this time the Party will not retreat?

■

In mid-January I was invited to the Moscow University's institute for advanced training for social science teachers. The talk was about international affairs. On receiving an unsigned written question I observed that it was surely high time to cease being afraid, to stop hiding behind anonymity.... There are no bad questions, there are only bad answers.

A few minutes later I received another note, also unsigned and angry one. Why was it necessary for questions to be signed? It was necessary, I replied, not for me but for yourself, so that you should respect yourself, so that you should hear your own voice, for without it there is no individuality, no civic consciousness.

Anonymous questioners, as a rule, are not opposed to change, but neither are they for it. They are waiting, hesitating; they want change but they don't believe in it.

And so, in order to help them take a forward-looking stance, in order to leave the conservatives no hope of a return to the past, in order that we ourselves should feel even more confident in the present, it is necessary, apart from everything else, to draw on the reserves of our memory. We must remember what we did and how we did it, where we erred and why.

■

The strength of the Leninists has always lain in their ability to draw lessons from their own history. An atmosphere pervaded with respect for history, for the lessons of history, for the historical truth has always been conducive to the moulding of socially conscious citizens. This applies not only to the 20th Congress of the CPSU or to the reform of 1965. It applies to all the stages along the road we have traversed.

This is a jubilee year: the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. Much will be written and said about the revolution, about the history of the building of socialism, about the history of the Party. And if once again, instead of telling the true story—with all its triumphs and reverses, heroism and dramas, with all those who figured in it—we leave something unsaid, if we dissemble, if we paint a featureless, specious picture—how can we expect people, and especially the youth, to have faith in us?

Let us then muster our courage and see to it that the moment of truth should not be merely a fleeting instant, but should become an integral part of our life—both when we reflect on the past and when we take stock of the present.

My thoughts here may be too fragmentary, too diffuse. But this is not a scholarly treatise with the attendant reservations, a balancing of the pros and cons. I am writing about my own perception of the present, the past and the connection between them, about what I myself have experienced. And about what I would not care to experience again.

■

We eagerly looked forward to the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee that has just ended. We looked forward to it with an impatience born of hope. It confirmed that there was no going back from the change in our society. It was most aptly noted that "we must not retreat and have nowhere to retreat to."

Losses for the Right

The results of the Bundestag election

In the general election on January 25, the F.R.G.'s 45 million voters (24 million women and 21 million men) were to determine the composition of the Bundestag for the next four years. However, only just over 38 million went to the polls, a much lower turnout than in 1983. Nor was it only the winter frosts that were to blame. Some 7 million electors stayed at home, as they did not believe their votes would alter their situation.

What was the outcome of the election? The current government coalition, composed of the three bourgeois parties, the CDU, the CSU and the Free Democrats, has retained its majority in the Bundestag, albeit not as impressively as before. Moreover, the alignment of forces within the coalition has also changed. The Free Democrats, the coalition's "junior partner," have gained ground, with 9.1 per cent of the total vote, 2.1 per cent more than four years ago. According to tentative estimates, they will now have 46 seats in the Bundestag. On the other hand, the CDU/CSU bloc has lost heavily, down by 4.5 per cent on 1983. Though it is still the Bundestag's largest single faction with 223 seats, this is 21 fewer than before.

The Green Party did well in the election. Its representatives will have 50 per cent more seats in the new Bundestag.

From Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

The comparative success of the Free Democrats will not make up for the coalition's overall losses. The 44.3 per cent share of the vote that went to the CDU/CSU is the lowest in F.R.G. history if one discounts the first Bundestag elections of 1949.

The heavy losses incurred by the leading parties in the government coalition came as a surprise to most local political observers. After all, the situation would have seemed to have favoured the CDU/CSU. The conservative-liberal coalition's term of government coincided with a cyclical economic upswing. The fall in world oil prices had served to slow down inflation. For the first time in many years, real earnings rose somewhat in the pre-election year, though it is true that almost one in ten able-bodied West Germans is still out of work. But as bourgeois press commentators have observed, the unemployed, who according to official statistics comprise 2.2 million, account even with their families for a minority of the population. Most people are more inclined to believe the leaders of the government parties, and their promises of continued economic advance, than the opposition with its prophecies of impending recession. However, voters were less naive than those at the headquarters of the ruling parties and the editorial offices of the leading newspapers believed.

CDU chairman Chancellor Helmut Kohl blamed the Christian bloc's losses on, amongst other things, what he called the "undesirable" controversy within the coalition over the future of the F.R.G.'s Ostpolitik, evidently forgetting that he himself initiated the polemics. Flirting with the right, he took the liberty, in a succession of utterances and interviews, of abusing the socialist countries.

The CSU declared that it would not tolerate "any continuation of the 1970s policy of détente." The Steel Helmet right-wing grouping in the CDU has backed demands from Franz Joseph Strauss's party to reconsider relations with the socialist countries. Yet while harangues in favour of "the restoration of a united Germany" and new, missile "rearmament" were applauded by the revanchist alliances, they alarmed most people in the F.R.G., including many supporters of the CDU/CSU.

The opposition parties scored rather different results. The Greens are back in the Bundestag with 42 seats, just over one and a half times more than before. They polled 8.3 per cent of the total vote, 2.7 per cent more than in 1983. Their leaders justly emphasize that this represents a success not only for the Greens, but for the entire extra-parliamentary democratic movement behind them.

The Social Democrats have lost a little over 1 per cent of the votes; they now have 186 seats, seven fewer than previously. How is one to interpret their having obtained only 37 per cent of the total vote? On the one hand, the Social Democrats found themselves far short of the objective set by their nominee for the chancellorship Johannes Rau, Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, of securing their "own majority," or at least the status of the Bundestag's strongest party. On the other hand, predictions of a catastrophic fall in their popularity have not materialized.

In their four years in opposition, the Social Democrats have revised many of their standpoints, especially with regard to peace and disarmament. Rejuvenation of their party is attended by difficult travail, marked by controversy between the different tendencies. At their Nuremberg convention late last August, they opposed U.S. plans to militarize space and advocated dismantling intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe. While reaffirming loyalty to NATO, they also proposed a new concept of security based on partnership with the socialist countries. Conjointly with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, they suggested establishing a chemical-weapons-free zone in Europe, as well as a nuclear-free corridor. As for the domestic scene, they believe it vital to cope effectively with unemployment, implement tax reform with an eye to the interests of the poorer strata, increase welfare benefits, and revoke anti-labour legislation.

However, the Social Democrats failed to convince an adequate number of voters that their programme was feasible. Many think Rau blundered in opposing from the outset any cooperation with the Greens.

Alexander TOLPEGIN
our own correspondent

Bonn

Spotlight on GWEN

New Pentagon Project

I. Our regular reader and correspondent Bryan Johns of Milwaukee, Oregon, writes:

Sometimes openly, often secretly, the Pentagon has spent almost $20 billion for a command, control, communications and intelligence network. Called C^3I (cee cubed eye), this system is designed to "survive and endure through trans- and post-attack phases of a Soviet nuclear strike," as the Air Force said in its report. In the first moments of a nuclear war, the command posts in Washington, D.C., and the mountains of Maryland and Colorado would disappear in nuclear explosions. Generals would continue to fight from airborne command posts, transmitting messages through a new communications system which would continue to function despite the electromagnetic pulse created by high altitude nuclear detonations.

The new system, estimated to cost one billion dollars, is called GWEN, for Ground Wave Emergency Network. Construction of GWEN has been under way for a year or more, and the Air Force gives two reasons for building it. First, unlike conventional electronic communications, it is not put out of operation by the electromagnetic pulse. Second, the system is internally redundant: the destruction of one or more towers does not stop the transmission of messages, because they are automatically re-routed through other stations.

In 1985 the Air Force began acquiring construction sites and building GWEN stations. But resistance appeared. Public opposition at Amherst, Massachusetts, caused the Air Force to move its proposed station to Barre, where more opposition forced a move to Taunton, where still more opposition has so far prevented the building of the station. But stations have been built at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, Spokane, Washington, and a number of other locations.

The Air Force has planned stations in Wenatchee, Washington, and in Klamath Falls, Eugene and Portland, Oregon. It was in Eugene that the lawsuit filed by the No-GWEN Alliance came to trial in the court of U.S. District Judge James M. Burns. The alliance assembled an impressive group of witnesses: William M. Arkin, co-author of the book "Nuclear Battlefields," and two high-ranking naval officers, now retired and active in the Centre for Defence Information. Testifying by telephone from Washington, James Bush, former commander of U.S. naval nuclear forces in Europe, declared that GWEN makes nuclear war more likely because it is part of the policy of acquiring a position to fight a nuclear war.

Eugene J. Carroll, former director of U.S. military operations in Europe, added that GWEN is part of a strategy to prevail in war by employing a first strike to "decapitate" the Soviet Union. William Arkin pointed out that Eugene and other GWEN sites become first-priority targets under this strategy.

In cross-examination the Air Force counsel asked: Wouldn't GWEN be useful in bringing a nuclear exchange to a halt? No, because nuclear war is uncontrollable; it cannot be limited, said Admiral Carroll emphatically, adding that he did not know of any military expert who believes it can be. Secretary Weinberger, he said, is wrong.

II. Interview with J.P. Morray, lawyer and author of many books on political and military questions, and active in the No-GWEN Alliance of Lane County, which filed the suit to stop the building of a GWEN tower:

Q.: Pentagon spokesmen say that GWEN and similar projects aim to deter the Soviet Union from launching a nuclear attack, and do not reflect any U.S. belief that a nuclear war can be won. Would you comment on this statement?

A.: The GWEN installations are clearly aimed at continuing the fight after an initial exchange of nuclear weapons. By its very definition of the system as one that will survive the electromagnetic pulse of high altitude nuclear explosions, the Air Force reveals that it is designed to enable the United States to fight a nuclear war for a long time.

Q.: The Air Force argues that the system is defensive because a nuclear burst would knock out conventional communications, and GWEN is needed to notify the bombers to take to the air. It guarantees deterrence.

A.: The bomber commands are preprogrammed to respond to such an eventuality, and therefore need no such message. They would take off when the bombs began to explode, or even when the incoming missiles were detected. For deterrence to be effective it is necessary that the Soviets know that if they launch a nuclear strike they will receive in return a hard response, GWEN is not needed for that, and it adds nothing to that potential.

Q.: Under the leadership of congressmen Silvio Conte of Massachusetts and Les AuCoin of Oregon the defence appropriations subcommittee has recently moved to cut the Air Force request for 158 GWEN towers to 127. They suggest that this is a victory for the peace forces because this would be only a defensive system. Do you agree?

A.: That is a fallback position of politicians, a compromise to try to placate the peace forces while giving the Pentagon most of what it wants. Soviet military experts will see a 127-tower system for what it is, an element in nuclear war-fighting capacity.

Q.: Donald C. Latham, Pentagon director of Command, Control, Communications and Intelligence, says that GWEN would continue to operate "even after a nuclear laydown." But Franklin C. Miller, Pentagon director of Strategic Policy, has said that survival of GWEN in a long war is "patent nonsense." What do you think is the truth about Washington's attitude on this question?

A.: There are many signs that Washington thinks that victory in a nuclear war with the Soviet Union is possible, an attainable goal. The development of small, highly accurate nuclear weapons, the selection of military targets to destroy strength, and the GWEN system to continue the war: these are the clues

that Washington is preparing to fight a long nuclear war.

III. Comment by a military expert, Major General Filip Gontar:

The development of the new C³I system for the guidance of all nuclear and conventional U.S. armed forces is just another sphere in which the arms race is being spurred.

The system is designed to enable the United States to effect control over such wars and to emerge victorious from them.

A particularly big role is assigned to the C³I system in the realization of Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative. In the opinion of its authors, it should ensure the steady functioning of all the components making up the space strike weapons in the face of powerful enemy resistance.

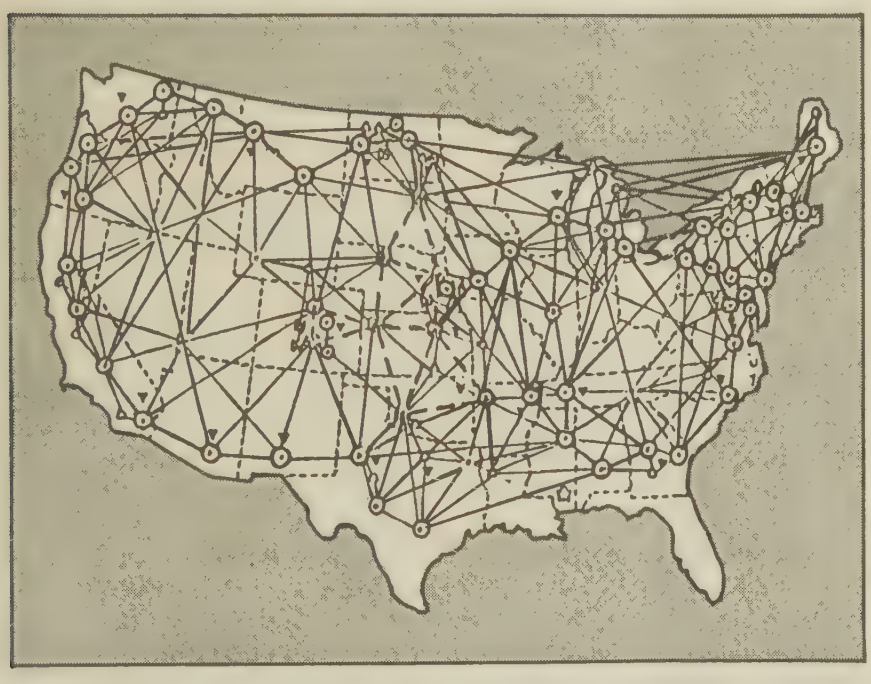
An important component of the command, control, communications and intelligence network is the long-wave GWEN subsystem. The latter is intended to comprise 500-odd unmanned communication centres covering the entire continental part of the U.S.A. The first few stations of the system having already been put into operation, it is planned to complete its establishment in the early 1990s.

The active public opposition to providing construction sites for the GWEN stations in some states is quite understandable. The public is aware that, in the event of nuclear war, these sites may become first-priority targets for nuclear attacks.

The evidence collected by New Times shows that the present U.S. administration is hastily building up the material facilities for waging a nuclear war and ending it on "terms advantageous for the United States." This is convincingly corroborated by other recent facts too.

A sum of $312 billion (as compared to $190 billion in 1981) has been requested for military spending in the fiscal year of 1988. While paying lip service to nuclear arms limitation and reduction the U.S. administration has actually refused to observe the SALT-2 provisions by putting into service the 131st and 132nd B-52 bombers with nuclear cruise missiles on board. It has given high priority to the "star wars" (SDI) programme. The Reykjavik summit has revealed that SDI is incompatible with nuclear disarmament. Since the U.S.S.R. introduced its unilateral moratorium, Washington has conducted 24 nuclear explosions. The refusal of the U.S. administration to end nuclear weapon tests, which are fuelling the nuclear arms race, obviously shows that it is eager to develop ever more advanced and sophisticated nuclear charges, including those for space strike weapons and other nuclear facilities for a first debilitating attack.

In attempting to mislead U.S. public opinion about preparations for nuclear war and its disastrous consequences, the U.S. media are in fact carrying out an order from the Pentagon. Their purpose is to inhibit vigorous mass anti-nuclear action.



The Ground Wave Emergency Network (GWEN) is part of the Pentagon's command, control, communications and intelligence system intended to make the conduct of a nuclear war possible.

Information provided by the No-GWEN Alliance

IV. Bryan Johns continues his story about the GWEN hearing:

Judge Burns announced his decision three days later: the Air Force could build its tower in Eugene. "This is simply not the proper forum to examine the wisdom of our national defence policy."

The words have a familiar ring. In 1856 Chief Justice Taney, writing for the majority of the U.S. Supreme Court in Dred Scott versus John F.A. Sandford, ruled that "this court had no jurisdiction" to prevent the spread of slavery from the slave states to those in which state law forbade it. Further, he said, the Constitution prevented the U.S. Congress from stopping the spread of slavery into any of the vast territories in which states had not yet been formed.

The decision of Judge Taney, representing the interests of a half a million slaveowners and the forces that they could marshal, was directly at odds with the rising abolitionist sentiment, the conviction that progress required the destruction of the right to own slaves. Abraham Lincoln summed up the popular will: the decision of the Supreme Court is wrong, and should be reversed. In the only forum that remained to them the people reversed it, and abolished slavery entirely in the American Civil War. It was the worst bloodletting by Americans in any of the nation's wars, even though the population was only one fifth that of today.

A new abolitionist movement has taken root in the United States and throughout the world, a movement seeking the abolition of the arms race and of nuclear weapons. It simply cannot be ignored. The people chained to a war machine feel their bondage. How can the shackles be broken? Where is the forum in which the will of the people may be expressed? The decision of Judge Burns will be appealed. Perhaps, there is prospect in more public pressure on the Congress. It is too early to say how the people will free themselves. But we will because we must. The law is mighty, said Goethe, but mightier, necessity.

Compiled by
Andrei ARKHIPOV

TAKING UP A POINT

> I hear that industrial enterprises in Hungary are being put on a self-financing basis, and that workers' wages will depend still more on the volume of production and sales. A capitalist enterprise goes bankrupt if there is no demand for its products. The same fate would seem to await Hungarian enterprises in similar cases. What happens to the advantages of socialism?
>
> Michael NEUBERT
> Frankfort on the Main, F.R.G.

Our reader's letter is answered by MIKLOS OVARI, Politbureau Member and Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

If an Enterprise Is Losing Money...

Yes, we do intend to make all our enterprises pay their way. But how determined are we to carry this through? Let me be frank: the intention is there, but it is not so easy to put it into practice. You are right in saying that the economic, political and social interests of the working people are involved, and that they must be taken into account. In essence, you want to know what we are going to do with money-losing enterprises. The capitalist economy offers a simple solution: a loss-making enterprise is doomed to bankruptcy. Things are not so simple in our country because our economy has various options. The option you mention, i.e., shutting down an inefficient enterprise, is the last resort. Even if we do take such a decision, we will do so reluctantly and only after having tried every other approach.

Let me elaborate.

First of all, we will try to make the enterprise efficient. This could be done by changing the type of product to suit the market. In other words, the enterprise and the work force will continue to exist. But instead of the former, loss-making products it will manufacture products necessary to the economy which will bring greater profits. Such a change is possible in a socialist economy through credits, subsidies and preferential treatment.

Before declaring an enterprise bankrupt, the State Bank will ask it to submit its programme of improvements, and will suggest what type of product to manufacture or how to establish co-operation with other enterprises. If liquidation still proves to be necessary, it will be carried out stage by stage over several years, which gives the enterprise a chance to pull out of the crisis. Our state is interested in the viability of enterprises and their work collectives, and is ready to come to their rescue in moments of difficulty.

Another option is replacing the managers. In our experience, enterprises operating in similar conditions have performed differently because they were run by different people. Workers will be allowed to reelect their managers if they think it necessary.

Some products are necessary even if they are produced without profit. Weapons for defence is one instance, or products designed for the future: research equipment, generators for power stations under construction, and so on. Some economists believe that no exception should be made for such enterprises: if products are manufactured at a loss, the enterprise is a burden to the state. Bankruptcy? Yes, bankruptcy, even though it is a scandalous phenomenon in socialist conditions. "We can survive a scandal," they say, "but we shall maintain to the principle of profitability in a free market."

But it should not be forgotten that a socialist economy is not a "free-for-all" market, but a market existing within a planned economy, which has its tactical and strategic goals. Take, for example, the Hungarian steel industry. Part of it is operating at a loss. But the rest of our industry cannot develop without metallurgy. We cannot shut down all our unprofitable metallurgical plants and buy all the millions of tons of metal we need from, say, the Soviet Union. If we adopted this approach, we would have to close down other unprofitable industries, for example, coal industry. Where would we get our coal then? From the Poles? We cannot expect the Soviet Union or Poland to expand their exports with only Hungary's interests in mind.

In these and similar cases enterprises and sectors of industry will continue to operate even if they are unprofitable. Of course, we shall try to proceed in such a way as to minimize losses and try to improve the economic situation of the enterprise by tapping all its internal resources.

You are aware that any state—whether capitalist or socialist—faces unproductive expenditure and subsidizes not only unprofitable enterprises, but entire industries geared to strategic economic goals. In a socialist society, the scale of such subsidizing is much greater and its ultimate goals are different. If the United States is increasing its outlay to develop ever new weapons, we would like to spend public resources to meet the people's needs in housing, medical services, and other social benefits. The underlying principle of socialism is meeting public and individual needs. This is the top priority task of our economy.

Distribution of labour resources as part of the international division of labour within the socialist community

is of paramount importance. Many socialist countries are already practising this with the sole purpose of meeting the interests of their citizens more fully. The beneficiaries of this are both the state, because with us it is the state of the whole people, and the citizens, because their interests are now protected and guaranteed by the state.

No, we cannot agree that any unprofitable enterprise must be closed and liquidated. Such a step would reduce our economy to a state where it would incur debts on a greater scale than before. Even so, some enterprises in Hungary will have to be closed. This will raise a new problem: what to do with the manpower released and will it not give rise to unemployment? Such fears have been expressed. In my view there is no need to fear unemployment in a socialist system where manpower resources are redistributed under a state plan. There are a lot of vacancies in the national economy. In Hungary, for instance, we are short of workers in the service sphere. It is hard to find a person who would agree to do manual labour on a railway even for good pay. I once attended a congress of the Hungarian railwaymen's union at which it was stated that it is impossible to hire a track worker for 7,000-8,000 forints, which is much more than the average national wage. And yet for this job no retraining is necessary.

If we manage to regroup our labour resources on a national and interstate basis, and restructure industry on a similarly wide scale, the problem in the long run is not unemployment (there is no such threat in socialist countries), but for every socialist country to get its people to work where they are needed. And believe me, there are a lot of jobs.

So, I repeat, there are plans to put Hungarian industry on a self-financing basis. We are coming to grips with this task. But we can hardly say we have solved it. Doing so will take years.

■

CONFLICTING OPINIONS

Following the letter in our issue No. 46 for last year from Kurt Bayer of Düsseldorf who writes that anti-war demonstrators would do better to attend to their own affairs, we have received many responses from readers both in this country and abroad. Here are a few of them.

It's Your Affair Too

I have read your letter, Mr Bayer, and I cannot help reacting to it. How do you fail to realize, I wonder, that the anti-war slogans with which peace supporters demonstrate in the streets of your home city concern you too. You write that the solution of important political problems should best be left to those who are obliged to deal with them in the line of duty, in other words, made the exclusive preserve of the government. I cannot agree with you here. Why? Because, first of all, the government of your country is not lifting a finger to curb the arms race. Shall I prove this? Nothing could be easier.

American strategists are setting up more and more military bases in Western Europe with every passing year. It is not safe to have nuclear missiles stationed right by your door. You must have read newspaper reports about the incidents that occur during their transportation. Fortunately, they haven't caused a disaster yet, but who knows....

I am confident that you, like any normal human being, want to live in peace. But a peaceful future can be guaranteed only if we work for it today and oppose preparations for war.

I understand from you, however, that most passersby pay no attention to the anti-war banners peace workers carry as they march through the streets of your city. Well, this is probably due to more than just the fact that some people—yourself included—simply lack curiosity. Can't you see that these slogans are not abstract politics, but that they concern your own life and that those who carry them want you, your family and friends, and millions of others, to gain confidence in the future at last?

V. BUDANOV
Chernigov Region, U.S.S.R.

Is It Any Use?

I know that many will criticize Kurt Bayer for apathy and say that the world's future depends not only on governments but on ordinary people as well. But I'd like to say a few words in support of Bayer's position. Somehow it seems to me that marching through the streets with slogans isn't much use. Besides, in my city, Montreal, which is rather large (and not only by Canadian standards), it so happens that anti-war demonstrators are mostly jobless, idlers or college and university students shirking lectures. A busy man does not have time for such long marches. I am sure that no one who works takes any part in such demonstrations. But are idlers any use? They can't decide anything because they carry no weight socially or politically. So it would be more honestly on their part to give up.

Patrick KEITH
Montreal, Canada

Today and Forever

I want the sun to shine equally brightly for all, and everyone to feel a member of one big human family and be confident of his future. This requires an effort. We must protect peace from those who still have the temerity to think they can encroach upon our peace and our life. This is why I add my voice to millions of others, saying a firm No to all the aggressive schemes of imperialism. Peace is what all of us need. Today and forever.

Emeterio CALVO MARTIN
Santander, Spain

● NEW MATERIALS

ENGINE MADE OF CLAY

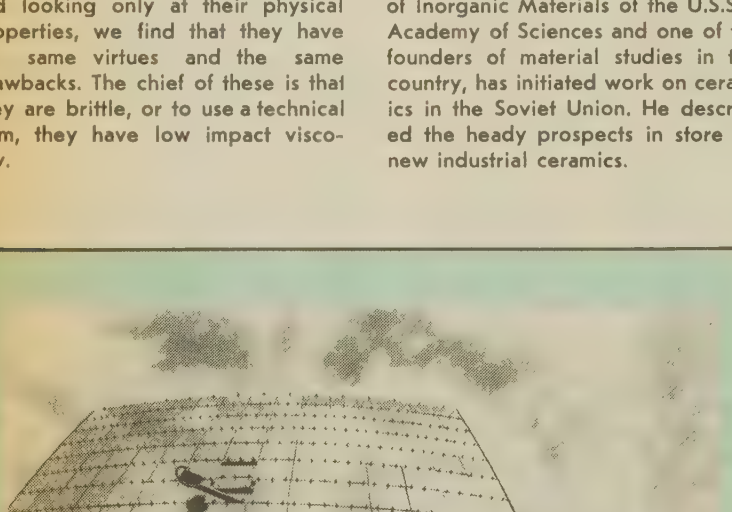
A brick, a clay pot, and a porcelain vase are all made of ceramics. It is now the turn of the car and other engines to use ceramic components.

What does brick have in common with a porcelain vase? Leaving aside their function and aesthetic value, and looking only at their physical properties, we find that they have the same virtues and the same drawbacks. The chief of these is that they are brittle, or to use a technical term, they have low impact viscosity.

Ceramic components can withstand high temperatures better than the best of steels. They are much lighter, are corrosion-resistant and perform well in chemically aggressive environments. If only they could be made less brittle!

In recent decades scientists in this country and abroad have done much to solve this problem. Already ceramics are one of the most important structural materials. Ceramics compete with and sometimes outperform metals in various fields. Ceramic materials can do things that metals and alloys cannot.

Nikolai Zhavoronkov, Academician-Secretary of the Department of Physical Chemistry and Technology of Inorganic Materials of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and one of the founders of material studies in this country, has initiated work on ceramics in the Soviet Union. He described the heady prospects in store for new industrial ceramics.



Oil fields are being depleted, coal seams running thin, and rivers drying up. With the depletion of traditional fuel resources, the sun seems an inexhaustible source of energy, especially so because man is only learning to tap it.

Solar batteries to power heating systems and transport vehicles are quite common. Recently scientists have harnessed solar energy for metallurgy. A factory being built near Tashkent will use trapped solar rays to produce extra-pure heat-resistant metals applied in various modern industries.

TASS photo

Mineral resources for the manufacture of most ceramics are virtually inexhaustible. Silicon, used in some ceramics, forms 40 per cent of the earth's crust. A layer of the crust about 1,500 metres thick is made up of silicon compounds. Oxygen, nitrogen, and carbon are all around us. New ceramics also incude some rare elements, such as zirconium, niobium, yttrium, boron, and the fairly abundant but far from cheap aluminium and magnesium. This creates certain problems. The main challenge, however; is to obtain ceramics with the necessary mechanical and thermal properties.

The principal task is to overcome brittleness. Several options are open. For instance, ceramics can be made from extra-pure powders consisting of particles less than a micron in size. Various additives could also be the answer. Structures can be reinforced with little super-hard filamentary crystals, or with mineral fibres, and carbon threads from purified cellulose. This increases the impact viscosity many times over.

The Institute of General and Inorganic Chemistry of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences headed by Academician Zhavoronkov has set up an industrial ceramics laboratory to wrestle with many of the above problems. The laboratory is headed by Dr Shevchenko.

In recent years ceramics have been dubbed "the third industrial material" after metals and polymers. The creation of industrial ceramics qualitatively different from the traditional ceramics used for millennia has opened up prospects for using ceramics in construction and engineering. Experts believe that ceramic components will soon dominate such areas as machine building, metallurgy and electronics.

The two types of ceramics used as construction materials today are the oxide type obtained from natural minerals purified to a high degree, and ceramics obtained from the carbides and nitrides of light elements. Mixtures of compounds are also used, such as sialon, which is widely known abroad.

What can new ceramics do?

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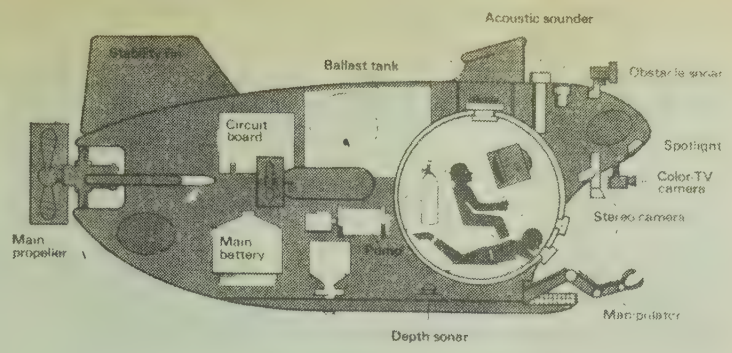


● IN THE DEEPS

LATEST IN SUBMERSIBLES

Submarine research vehicles are becoming more and more sophisticated. Even the legendary Captain Nemo would have welcomed a chance to dive in one.

The latest development in the field, a diving vehicle that can work under ice, was first tried in the Canadian Arctic last May. It moves at a speed of about 5 knots at a depth of 400 metres and uses a nickel-cadmium battery for power.

The Japanese have designed a manned diving vehicle Shinkai which can submerge to great depths. In 1989, when the vehicle is completed (at an estimated cost of $71 million) it will submerge to a depth of 6.5 km. to collect data on underwater mineral resources. Similar vehicles are used to track down sunken ships, repair telephone cables, and measure the radiation levels of radioactive waste dumped on the ocean floor.

What will the diving vehicle of the future look like? There are several projects. One type proposed would be powered by oxygen extracted from sea water.

From Newsweek (U.S.A.)

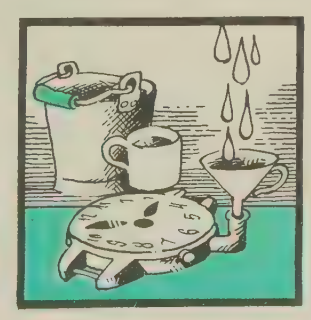
● HYPOTHESIS

I RUN, THEREFORE I AM

"I think, therefore I am," said Descartes. The chances are, however, that in creating the human brain, endowing it with the capacity to think was the least of nature's concerns. According to Konrad Fialkowski, a Polish anthropologist, our ancestors 1.5-2 million years ago needed a big brain in order to be able to run quickly across the African savannah. At that time they had ceased to be vegetarians, but had not yet invented hunting weapons. They chased their quarry, mostly small hoofed animals, until their quarry collapsed from exhaustion. They hunted by day in scorching sun because by night lions and leopards were a hindrance. Since brain cells are destroyed quickly by overheating, the only way for our ancestors to survive was to grow large brains. Fialkowski's hypothesis is borne out by tests on marathon runners. Their body temperature at the finish is 41°C.

● NEW IDEAS

WATER-POWERED WATCH



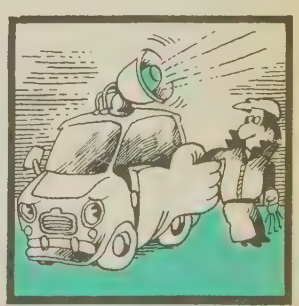
Time flows like water, but watches cannot stand moisture. A droplet of water stops a watch. Recently an electronics firm in the U.S. announced a project to make a watch which actually depends on water. It will be powered by three simple batteries of the kind invented by Alessandro Volta, an Italian natural scientist, about 200 years ago. Each consists of thin plates of zinc and copper.

Water allowed into the battery through a microscopic hole causes positively charged ions to start flowing from the zinc to the copper, while the free electrons flow in the reverse direction towards the zinc and through an external circuit to the copper plate. This circuit will make the watch tick.

A few droplets would last a week. At a pinch, the watch could be charged with coffee or coca-cola, although there is a risk that sweetened liquids could make the batteries stick together. The water-powered watch will have a life-span of ten years. Its price is quite reasonable, much lower than the repair of an ordinary watch.

● INVENTIONS

STOP THIEF!



Motorists resort to all sorts of tricks to make sure their cars are not stolen, but car thieves always outwit them. Alfonso Calvo, 67, from the Canary Islands, Spain, has invented a fail-safe device to prevent car thefts, which reacts to driving technique. If the person at the wheel drives in a way to which the car is unaccustomed the device switches on an alarm signal to the police.

Drawings by N. Shcherbakov

Present-Day Inquisitors

VITALY SOBOLEV

"No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment."

Article 5, Universal Declaration of Human Rights

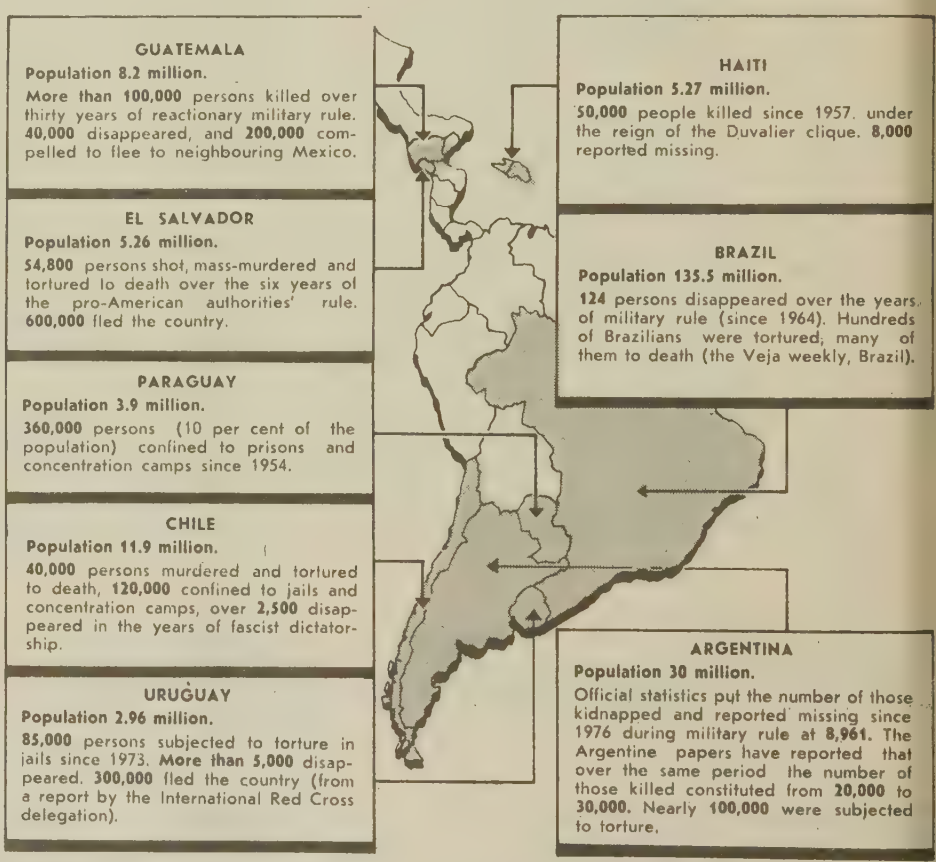
The French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre called torture "the plague of our age." Latin Americans suffer from this epidemic the most. It is raging under the roughshod reign of dictatorial regimes, and has just subsided in the countries that have recently rid themselves of military dictatorships, leaving raw ulcers and wounds behind, in the literal sense of the word. Former victims or their relatives demand justice, while former executioners seek to evade retribution, and have ample political opportunity to do so.

The Argentinian generals and admirals, members of the military juntas that had ruled the country since 1976, are guilty not only of flagrant violations of human rights but also of having lost a war. They have been tried and condemned, but the sentences passed on them were too lenient, given the gravity of their crimes. A further 60 or so Argentinian servicemen stood trial. As for the other military and police officers and security service agents who kidnapped, tortured and murdered people, they have got off scot-free. A bill to halt prosecutions of the military was submitted by the government to the Senate and Chamber of Deputies and approved by a majority vote of the ruling Radical Civil Union and representatives of right-wing parties last December.

In Uruguay, most M.P.s of the ruling Colorado Party and the National Party also voted through a bill to make the military and police officers guilty of violating human rights immune to prosecution.

In Brazil, a law amnesting both the "terrorists" and those who fought them with "inhuman methods" was passed before the handover of power to the civilian government.*

The passing of these laws has given rise to vigorous public protests in Latin America. Late last December, protesters took to the streets of the Argentinian and Uruguayan capitals demanding that all the criminals be duly punished for their crimes. At the same time, the papers suggested pillorying the tormentors by making their names public.


GUATEMALA
Population 8.2 million.
More than 100,000 persons killed over thirty years of reactionary military rule. 40,000 disappeared, and 200,000 compelled to flee to neighbouring Mexico.
EL SALVADOR
Population 5.26 million.
54,800 persons shot, mass-murdered and tortured to death over the six years of the pro-American authorities' rule. 600,000 fled the country.
PARAGUAY
Population 3.9 million.
360,000 persons (10 per cent of the population) confined to prisons and concentration camps since 1954.
CHILE
Population 11.9 million.
40,000 persons murdered and tortured to death, 120,000 confined to jails and concentration camps, over 2,500 disappeared in the years of fascist dictatorship.
URUGUAY
Population 2.96 million.
85,000 persons subjected to torture in jails since 1973. More than 5,000 disappeared. 300,000 fled the country (from a report by the International Red Cross delegation).
HAITI
Population 5.27 million.
50,000 people killed since 1957, under the reign of the Duvalier clique. 8,000 reported missing.
BRAZIL
Population 135.5 million.
124 persons disappeared over the years of military rule (since 1964). Hundreds of Brazilians were tortured, many of them to death (the Veja weekly, Brazil).
ARGENTINA
Population 30 million.
Official statistics put the number of those kidnapped and reported missing since 1976 during military rule at 8,961. The Argentine papers have reported that over the same period the number of those killed constituted from 20,000 to 30,000. Nearly 100,000 were subjected to torture.

The polemic has brought out two camps which are poles apart on the torture issue. This division transcends regional boundaries. The arguments given by either side are of universal significance and, therefore, of interest not only to historians specializing in Latin American dictatorships. Analyzing the sophistry of the apologists for the torture chamber is about as pleasant as dissecting a cadaver. But it would hardly be wise to turn a deaf ear to their discourses because what they advocate is still practised on a mass scale and is not likely to be discontinued in the foreseeable future. Following this polemic, one arrives at the sad conclusion that the relapse into inquisitional ways is going to last. So let us listen to the polemicists.

The Latin Americans were not the first to put forward arguments for torture. The legacy of the nazi Third Reich apart, the writings of the French General Jacques Massu, who once took part in the Resistance movement and subsequently in the colonial war in Algeria, are now regarded by devotees of torture as their gospel. It is hard to tell whether or not such an about-turn was caused by changes in the general's personality, but that his punitive activities had a destructive effect on it is beyond doubt. In his memoirs he describes in lurid detail how he tortured Algerian patriots in his own office with electric shocks, and also gives examples from some of his subordinates' records of third-degree interrogations which he, as an expert in this brutal "technique," considers the best.

I cannot help recalling in this connection a phrase uttered by another

* **Note:** Having rid themselves of military dictatorships, Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay joined the 1984 inter-American convention which bans torture.

Frenchman, Michel Montaigne, the 16th-century philosopher, a man of extraordinary intelligence, a publicist, and unlike Massu, a humanist. "Many nations," Montaigne wrote, "consider it abominably cruel to torture a man of whose guilt you are not yet certain. Why should he suffer from your uncertainty? You don't want to kill him without grounds, but do you do him justice by making him wish he were dead? The invention of torture is a dangerous one; to my mind, it is a trial of patience rather than of verity."

The advocates of third-degree methods include American veterans of the "dirty war" in Vietnam who now, having been safely cured of the "Vietnam syndrome," like to recall how they used to extort information from the "Charlies," also referred to as "Vietcong terrorists."

In numerous Latin American dictatorships, torture ranks very high for effectiveness. Even the Catholic church in the person of the Brazilian bishop Sigaud, a spiritual heir to Torquemada, has blessed torture. "You cannot elicit a confession from anyone by offering him a candy," the bishop unctuously sermonized.

Those who believe in the effectiveness of torture even provide "moral" justifications for this strictly technical argument in its favour. "If a bomb is planted in a plane full of children," a current parable goes, "or if a child is kidnapped and threatened with death, and you have got hold of a terrorist who knows where the bomb (or the child, as the case may be) is, would you be well-advised to restrict yourself to legal methods of interrogation?" To believe its uniformed and plainclothes advocates, torture is not only humane; it is in torture that lies the salvation of "Western Christian civilization with its values, and of national integrity from destructive anarchy." This being so, the outlook for torture is bright.

But who can guarantee, the opponents of torture object, that the hypothetical "terrorist" really knows where the bomb (or the kidnapped child) is? What if he is tortured in vain? If so, will his tormentor be called to account? Or is such "humane treatment" of prisoners looked upon as a means of getting quick results, and winning promotion?

In order to dot the i's and cross the t's of the discussion now in progress let us turn to the studies of torture—regarded as classics in the West—by Professor Edward Peters of the University of Pennsylvania. The professor, who is unquestionably among those opposed to tormenting human flesh, has to his credit a maxim well-known in Latin America, which is still trying, as already mentioned, to make up its mind as to whether the recent past is, or is not, to be forgotten. The professor's forecast is: The future of torture depends on the future of the tormentors. This is a sound view which proceeds from the well-known legal postulate about the inevitability of punishment being essential to the prevention of crime. That is, if those guilty of torture are punished today, members of certain institutions will think twice about resorting to it tomorrow.

The study which was conducted in Argentina by the Alfonsin government under the motto "Never Again," established, beyond any doubt, that nearly nine thousand persons had disappeared without a trace in the years of the dictatorship (1976-83). A similar effort made in Brazil on the initiative of clerical and public circles put the number of missing at 124. Its motto was: "Brazil: Never Again."

Inevitability of punishment is a very important principle. In itself, however, it provides no absolute guarantee against crime. A criminal always hopes to get away with it. Law enforcement measures alone are obviously not enough to eliminate crime. There is even less chance of preventing abuses committed by those who regard themselves as arms of the law, protectors of "the supreme interests of nations" and who get their orders direct from the dictators themselves, for example, Pinochet or Stroessner. They possess enough privileges and wield enough power to take care of their future themselves—or so it seems to them (more

Seen from the Inside

Unwilling to be an executioner any longer, André Morales, a former officer in the Chilean Air Force secret service, has emigrated to Western Europe.

Q.: When did you witness torture for the first time?

A.: It was a woman, or rather a teenage girl belonging to the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR), whose name I've forgotten, very young, a blonde. She was beaten up first, then electrodes were pressed against her body, and she screamed. It was a revolting sight.

Q.: In what kind of room did that happen?

A.: In the basement of the military academy...

Q.: How many prisoners were there?

A.: About forty. They were kept in three rooms, and some of them in the toilet.

Q.: Did any of them die?

A.: Yes, a man called Comrade Diaz, aged about fifty, short, plain-looking. He was questioned in order to find out where an arms caché was. There were ten tormentors, and they passed him around as they beat him. Diaz did not say a word.

Q.: Would you say a few words about operations consisting of dumping prisoners from helicopters.

A.: I've heard about one. There may have been others. Some 15 prisoners were dropped into the sea from an army helicopter off San Antonio. Before being thrown out, they had their bellies ripped open lest the corpses come to the surface.

Q.: Did you realize what you were doing?

A.: Yes, I did.

Q.: What made you talk about it?

A.: I felt I had to make a clean breast of what I had done.

What's in store for these protesters picked up by Chilean carabineers in the streets of Santiago?

From l'Evénement du Jeudi (France)

Seen from the Inside

Carlos Antonio Gomez Montano, 21, deserted from the Salvadoran army. Here is his story:

After an operation we returned to barracks where we received our first instruction in torture. Nine teenage boys, believed to be guerrillas, were brought in at night. A kid of 15 or 16 was the first to arrive. A bayonet was thrust under his fingernails. Then his fingernails were pulled out. He died shortly, although he was ready to answer any question if only they would let him go. "Now we'll show you how to beat the hell out of the guerrillas, how to teach them a lesson," the officers told us. They were American Green Berets.

Having dispatched the first boy, they got busy working on another, tearing his fingernails out with knives, breaking his arms and legs, stabbing him with bayonets in different parts of his body and scalping him. When they saw they couldn't hurt him any more, they poured gasoline over him and set him on fire.

On the following day, the tormentors applied themselves to a girl of 13. The officers beat her up and raped her first, all of them, then they pulled her fingernails out, cut her fingers off, broke her arms, put out her eyes, stabbed her in the legs with bayonets, and ripped her genitals with a piece of iron.

The last to be killed that day was treated even more brutally: they stripped him of his clothes and pushed him onto a red-hot stove. Blistered and badly burnt all over, the man was loaded into a helicopter and dumped, alive, in the sea.

Tormentors and their victims (El Salvador).

From New York Times

often than not with good reason).

The current dispute between advocates and opponents of torture is reminiscent of a phenomenon that is widespread among bourgeois theoreticians, the ability to turn a blind eye to certain facts, on the instructions of the ruling classes. From the time of the Holy Inquisition to the present day third-degree interrogation has always been an instrument of ideological and political struggle. It is enough to recall who tortured whom in nazi dungeons, American investigation cells in Vietnam, the headquarters of General Massu and his officers, and the so-called "information services" in Latin American armies.

The argument about the terrorist and the bomb planted on a plane sounds naive, perhaps even cynical. Was torture used in Argentina under the military to save 9,000 planeloads of children? Is it kidnapped children that Pinochet's secret services are looking for? Not at all. Subjected to torture, in most cases, are Communists, opponents of the whole principle of terrorism. The sadistic "investigators" in the dictatorships' employment often lay their hands on innocent bystanders (including boys and girls) who, as their ill fate would have it, go through the infernal mill and end up in a secret common grave or on the ocean floor (certain Latin American dictatorships have made a practice of dropping human "waste matter" into "the drink" from army planes and helicopters). Naturally, these secret service executioners constitute the core of such terrorist organizations as the French Organisation Armée Secrète or the Latin American death squads.

While analyzing the "parable of the plane," theoretical works on torture make no mention, as a rule, of the ways in which the U.S. enriches the legacy of Torquemada, although the U.S. contribution to the theory and practice of torture is the most substantial to date.

To believe U.S. leaders, to them human rights come first. It is regrettable that the ancient Greek and Roman myth-makers did not invent a god of hypocrisy. This deity would have come in extremely useful to modern journalists who readily use the imagery of antiquity. Since there is none, we shall have to dispense with figures of speech and content ourselves with stating some all-too-prosaic facts, such as the spread of Gestapo methods in various continents with Washington's blessing in postwar years; the U.S. having given refuge to numerous nazi hangmen and their accomplices; the CIA using the services of Klaus Barbie, the "butcher of Lyon"; the transfer of nazi executioners to Latin American dictators like Pinochet and Stroessner by the U.S.; the presence, in many parts of the world, of American advisers, their service records often going all the way back to the Vietnam war.

An American author, Jack Langguth, discusses torture on a practical rather than a theoretical plane. He provides documentary evidence of how Latin American policemen have changed over, with American assistance, from primitive jaw-breaking and kicking to the latest in third-degree techniques. It was CIA men, Langguth reports, who explained to Latin Americans the maximum voltage a human being can bear when tortured with electric shocks. It was the laboratories of the Technical Services Division in Washington that developed instruments of torture which cause a prisoner sufficiently excruciating pain to make him talk fast.

I am not going to describe these instruments and techniques in detail here. But I think it pays to quote Dan Mitrione, an American adviser and instructor, who for years trained Brazilian and Uruguayan tormentors in these techniques. Once a staff member of the U.S. embassy in Uruguay, he was eventually punished by the patriots for this "activity."

Here are the instructions Dan Mitrione gave his trainees while working in Uruguay (all quotations come from Uruguayan papers): "Interrogation is an art. First, there is a time for softening up the prisoner. The object is to humiliate him, to make him un-

A Doctrine to Justify Torture...

Back in the early sixties the Pentagon hatched the so-called "national security doctrine," which tried to convince the Latin American military that they were in no position to counter the external threat to the "free world," and that it was up to the United States to do so. As for the Latin American armed forces, they are supposed to be prepared to combat subversive activities at home only.

In many Latin American countries, the armed forces came to regard as the potential enemy not a foreign state, but citizens of their own country, "socio-political suspects." The democratic movement was referred to as "the enemy within." There was even talk of an "internal front."

The instructors and their "capable" trainees agreed that no means should be considered too foul in the effort to ensure "national security," to uphold the ideals and values of the "free world," that torture, murder and abduction were perfectly all right when the "supreme interests" of the state were at stake.

The brain centres that masterminded third-degree practices in Latin American countries invariably operated from U.S. embassies there.

...and Where Its Practice Is Taught

Soldiers of the Chilean fascist regime, drilled by American instructors to fight the "enemy within," swearing allegiance to Pinochet.

TASS photo

● **The School of the Americas.** Once located in Fort Gulick, the former Panama Canal zone, the school was closed on September 30, 1984, at the request of the Panamanian authorities. Intended exclusively for Latin American officers, this main centre of instruction in anti-rebel action trained a total of about 45,000 Latin Americans.

● **John Kennedy military training centre** (Fort Bragg, North Carolina). Specializes in psychological warfare and "unconventional means of combat." Trains Latin American servicemen in "riot suppression," planning and conducting anti-guerrilla actions, intelligence and counterintelligence.

● **The Inter-American Defence College** (South Carolina). Established in 1962, it trains officers from the Organization of American States member countries in combating guerrillas, for the most part.

● **The U.S. Army Infantry Training School** (Fort Benning, Georgia) has been giving Latin American officers advanced training since 1939. It also drills personnel for ranger units.

● **The civil and military administration school** (Fort Gordon, Georgia). The U.S. main training centre emphasizing relations between troops and civilians. The school trains a group of Latin American servicemen for secret operations in "potential conflict zones."

● **The U.S. Army Command and General Staff College** (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas). Trains senior officers. Latin American servicemen are admitted by special invitation.

● **The United States West Point Military Academy** (New York State) is also open to Latin American officers. Incidentally, Nicaragua's former dictator Anastasio Somoza was a West Point graduate.

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derstand that he is completely helpless and to isolate him from the reality outside his cell. No questions, just blows and insult. Then blows in total silence. After all that, the interrogations.... Now the only pain should come from the instrument you've chosen to use.... The precise pain in the precise place in the precise amount to achieve effect."

Mitrione used the easily recognizable style of American manuals, instructions and textbooks intended for Latin American trainees. He uttered these words 15 years ago, but Salvadoran punitive squads and Somozists still use the services of American advisers. A group of U.S. advisers recently arrived in Haiti, bringing along a sizable supply of arms.

"If I were a boxer," Mitrione said, "I would try to be the world champion. But I am not. But though I am not, in this profession, my profession, I am the best."

Finally, let us see whether torture is all that effective. The wiping out of underground organizations by the nazis, the mass arrests in Algeria, Vietnam and certain Latin American countries seem to have proved its efficacy. But besides Massu's memoirs and other torturers' "confessions," we have testimonies by fighters who have gone through all the circles of the inferno—and held out. They exemplify the fortitude of spirit which compelled their tormentors to give up, for all their foolproof theories and sophisticated equipment. The end of the Third Reich, the collapse of colonial empires, the failure of the American intervention in Vietnam and the inevitable fiasco of the Latin American gorillas disprove better than any arguments the efficacy of the "plague of our century." ■

Hell in the Garden of Eden

LEONID MEDVEDKO, D. Sc. (Hist.)

Biblical legend has it that the area adjoining the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates was once the Garden of Eden. Now, ever since the Iranians mounted their latest "decisive offensive" at Basra, it has become a veritable hell. A heavy pall of black smoke hangs over the terrain. Shell and bomb explosions rend the air. There are mountains of corpses all around. Rivers, marshes and the coastal waters of the Persian Gulf are red with blood. In only ten days of fighting the casualty toll ran to tens of thousands. And the bloodshed has been going on for more than two thousand days....

Road to Nowhere

The Iranian offensive was first code-named Kerbala-4. When the initial thrust spent itself, it was followed by an even more ferocious onslaught, Kerbala-5. The soldiers are convinced that they are waging a "holy war."

Thirteen centuries ago the fourth Caliph Ali, and the grandson of the prophet, Hussein, descendants of Muhammad the founder of Islam, were killed and buried in the environs of the Iraqi cities Najaf and Kerbala. The last direct descendant of the prophet was hacked to death by the supporters of the Omayyad dynasty. He met his death at the hands of a mob, for, according to legend, no one wanted to assume personal responsibility for the murder. For 13 centuries, on days of mourning for Hussein, millions of Shiite Moslems perform the traditional savage ritual of self-flagellation: the mourners, following the chariot carrying an effigy of Hussein the martyr, beat themselves with chains, sometimes to death.

But neither the torments of the murdered Hussein, nor the self-flagellation of his fanatical followers can compare with the loss of life and the sufferings of the millions of Iranians and Iraqis who are bound to the chariot of the bloodiest and most senseless of wars between two Moslem states—Iran and Iraq.

News analysts the world over have recently noted on ever more occasions Iraq's growing desire to put an early end to hostilities. Baghdad has repeatedly proposed to stop the senseless bloodshed advantageous only to imperialist powers. The ending of the war is doubtless in the interests of the Iranian people too.

The Iraqi name of the war is associated with the historic battle of Kadisia where, in the year 637, the Arabs routed the Persian forces and thereby paved the way for Islam to Mesopotamia and Iran. Whom is the present senseless war paving the way for?

The Depths of the Ages and the Maze of Politics

It is a well-known fact that in the heat of battle the real reasons for it are forgotten. Moreover, the true culprits remain in the shadows. The roots of the Iranian-Iraqi war can be traced to the depths of the centuries and the labyrinths of present-day politics. Interwoven in it are of course both territorial claims and political contradictions. Many of them have been inherited from colonialism. But they would not have developed into protracted war if outside forces had not had a hand in it, particularly the CIA and the Israeli Mossad. The Iranian newspaper Kayhan, and subsequently several West European media, cited no little evidence of the provocative activity of members of the U.S. administration, including the former presidential national security assistant Zbigniew Brzezinski. His successors in this post have likewise contributed their share to fanning the Iranian-Iraqi war.

Although formerly they denied such accusations, "Irangate" has shed light on much that had been carefully concealed. The conflict between Iran and Iraq gave the United States wide opportunities to bring pressure to bear on both countries. Washington now makes no secret of its hope that in the final analysis the war would lead if not to the overthrow of one of the regimes of the warring sides, then at any rate to their rapprochement with the West.

It is not for nothing that former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has sharply criticized the Reagan administration in connection with the "Irangate" scandal. Not because its secret deliveries of arms to Iran added fuel to the flames of the war; Kissinger supposedly feared that an Iranian victory "would undermine all moderate forces in the Moslem world." But that is not the real reason. Kissinger personally believed that the best thing would be if both sides lost the war.

The course of the hostilities at the front and the consequences of the war in the rear, unfortunately, are bringing that cynical and well-nigh incredible desire closer to realization from day to day. Both sides are indeed suffering ever greater losses as time goes on.

Mutual Exhaustion, Mutual Destruction

The virtual equilibrium of forces that has emerged in the course of the war has created something of a balance of weakness on the battlefronts. In the first two years of the fighting Iraq held the initiative. Its troops succeeded in advancing to a considerable depth inside Iranian territory. But at subsequent stages the war gradually began to assume a positional character. In mid-1982 the Iraqi troops were ordered to withdraw to their own frontiers. Baghdad expressed a readiness to restore the prewar status quo. Teheran, however, rejected this peaceful alternative and mounted three thrusts into Iraqi territory—at Hadj-Omran in the north, Mandali-Baghdad in the centre and Basra in the south. By the end of 1986 the Iranians scored their biggest gains in the south, where they captured about 240 square kilometres of Iraqi territory.

For both countries the war has spelt incalculable misfortune and suffering. According to foreign press estimates, by the end of 1986 Iran lost about 600,000 and Iraq nearly 400,000 people, and the number of wounded exceeded three million. Millions of people have lost their homes and become refugees.

The material losses run to hundreds of billions of dollars. According to official data, the war is costing Iran $6 million a day. Economic experts calculate that the war is swallowing up no less than a billion dollars every month on each side.

Despite the loss of life which mounts from year to year and the dispatch to the front of ever new contingents of recruits and volunteers, the number of unemployed in Iran, far from decreas-

ing, has been periodically growing, fluctuating between 4 and 6 million. Strikes and anti-war demonstrations are becoming increasingly frequent in Teheran and other Iranian cities.

Dangerous Consequences of "Irangate"

Although the influence of "Irangate" on the war is denied in Teheran, the fact is that it was shortly after the outbreak of the scandal over the delivery to Iran of American arms that the beginning of the countdown for the decisive offensive was announced. There have been more than 20 such "decisive offensives." Their results have strengthened the position of Washington and its allies and not Teheran and the Moslem world in general. This is evidently realized by the supreme leader of the "Islamic revolution," Ayatollah Khomeini himself. The Western press once quoted his warning: "If—God forbid!—the United States wins this war, then Islam will be slapped in the face so that it will not be able to raise its head for a long time." The Iranian leadership, however, has not drawn the proper conclusions from this correct premise. It continues to reject all offers of peace, regarding them as "worse than war." It is unlikely that the peoples of Iran and Iraq share this view.

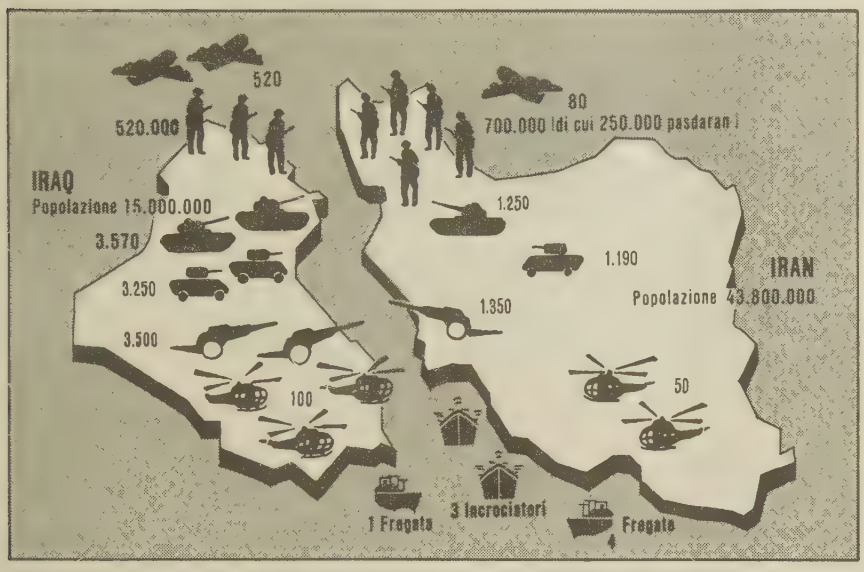
The baneful effects of the Iranian-Iraqi war are making themselves felt throughout the Middle East. There is widening rift between the Arab and other Moslem countries whose attitudes to the participants in the conflict differ. All this is damaging to their main common objective—to counteract the aggressive, expansionist course steered by Israel backed by the U.S.

This vast traditional Islamic region, in Washington's view, is automatically becoming a zone of "responsibility" for the interventionist forces of the U.S., as well as a profitable market for undercover arms sales.

"Irangate" has shed new light on many secrets of the White House, the CIA and the Pentagon. The U.S. Christian Science Monitor, for instance, has observed that the sale of American arms significantly increased the offensive potential of Iran. But that is not all. It turns out that the CIA has been supplying both sides with intelligence information. Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Ramadan said recently that the Iraqi government is convinced that the U.S. sold weapons to Iran and supplied false information to Iraq in order to "drag out the war and use the 'Iranian threat' for exerting pressure on the Arab countries," and possibly as a pretext for direct intervention.

This assumption has been confirmed by reports in the press that the Pentagon has dispatched a large task force, led by the aircraft carrier Kitty Hawk, to the Persian Gulf. The F.R.G. journal Der Spiegel points in this connection to the possibility of a U.S. intervention in the event of the fall of Basra. An operation of this kind has long been envisaged in one of the Pentagon scenarios for the eventuality of one side in the war gaining the upper hand. Here one can discern another entirely new aspect of "Irangate." Is not Washington deliberately helping Teheran to gain perhaps a short-term but "sensational" advantage in order to have a pretext to intervene with the object of "disengaging" the belligerents? Such an operation would not only justify "Irangate" post factum, but would divert attention from it.

More, the Lebanese Al-Anwar newspaper believes that against this background Washington could attempt to hasten the unravelling of the Middle East knot and overthrow the ruling regime in Iran in order to bring to the fore the "moderates" with whom the Americans have long had secret contact.



Iraq and Iran: comparative figures for population, troop strength, number of tanks, armoured vehicles, artillery pieces, combat planes and warships. This chart is reproduced from the Italian magazine L'Espresso, No. 51/86. Other Western periodicals furnish different data. For instance, Iraq is reported to have about 2,600 tanks and nearly 800 planes, and Iran—1,000 tanks and less than 100 planes; but then Iran has committed about a million troops to action.

Needed: Good Will

This writer has latterly had occasion to participate in many international forums and conferences, including the international Islamic conference: Moslems in the Struggle for Peace, held recently in Baku, at which I represented the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. At all of these forums it was urged that an immediate end be put to the fratricidal war and that a political solution to the protracted conflict be found at the negotiating table. Addressing all parliaments, governments and the United Nations, the Baku conference recalled the profound meaning of that surah of the Koran which enjoins the faithful that power be used for the good of life and not for death, for power is given to prove who is most righteous in his actions. One of those present at the conference justly asked: if the Koran forbids Moslems to kill Moslems, surely it is a greater crime for a state with an Islamic regime to declare as its aim the destruction of another sovereign Moslem state? The same thought was expressed by participants in the Kuwait high-level meeting of the Organization of Islamic Conference. They called on Iraq and Iran (the latter, incidentally, boycotted this meeting) to put an end to the fratricidal war.

The Soviet government has repeatedly confirmed its readiness to give every support to any honest and constructive effort, including within the U.N. framework, with a view to channelling the Iranian-Iraqi conflict onto the lines of peaceful solutions. The spirit of humanism pervades its statement of January 8 this year containing an appeal to the belligerents to display good will and exert maximum effort to end the senseless bloodshed which brings suffering above all to the peoples of both countries. ■

At guest performances by Milan's La Scala in Moscow, Cavaradossi in Puccini's "Tosca" was sung by Placido Domingo. After the first and second acts he was showered with masses of flowers. After the third, there was a standing ovation lasting three quarters of an hour. The occasion is so dear to him that he often refers to it in TV appearances and press interviews.

Placido Domingo, King of the Opera

He never thought of becoming a singer or musician, although he was born into an artistic milieu: his father and mother were well-known exponents of zarzuela, the Spanish operetta. Like many boys in Mexico City, where the immigrant family had settled, the young Placido dreamed of the toreador's glory. Yet fate was wise in his case and did not allow his brilliant talent for singing to perish. Placido Domingo did become a singer and the Western press today often calls him "the king of the opera."

Domingo first sang professionally in 1961, when he performed the part of Cavaradossi. Yet he remembers best November 26, 1962, when as a 22-year-old novice he appeared in Donizetti's "Lucia di Lammermoor" opposite the world-famous Lili Pons, who was about to end her career. "Placido, I first sang Lucia opposite Gigli and last, today, opposite you. I think that this will bring you luck," she told him after the play.

Placido believes that Lili Pons really brought him luck. From that day to this his unusual career has gone from one success to another.

Placido Domingo has sung in Milan's La Scala and Moscow's Bolshoi, London's Covent Garden and the Grand Opéra in Paris, the Metropolitan Opera in New York and the Staatsoper in Vienna. His voice has won the hearts of the most knowledgeable and exacting opera connoisseurs. He has mastered all tenor parts, lyrical and dramatic alike. Diario 16 wrote that "the singer copes easily and freely with parts from 'Othello,' 'Tosca' and 'Lucia,' although some members of the musical orthodoxy claim that they cannot be sung by the same voice."

When Placido Domingo turned 40, an age considered critical for a tenor, he had more than 1,500 performances to his credit, having sung in 80 productions, 50 of them recorded.

Eclipsing Caruso?

Many critics believe that Domingo's fame eclipses that of Enrico Caruso or Beniamino Gigli. I do not know if such comparisons are at all justifiable. Each of those singers was wonderful and unique in his own way. But the fact that Domingo is compared to Caruso and Gigli is significant.

Here is another example of his immense popularity. When in the summer of 1980 he sang in the Vienna Staatsoper, there were 52 curtain calls, an all-time record for the theatre, as the exalted audience would not let him go.

Placido does not confine himself to the operatic repertoir. "Yes, I am an opera singer," he says in reply to frequent accusations that he "squanders" his talent. "But I like singing, so I sing whatever I like." One can hear his renderings of Argentine tangos and Spanish chancheros, songs of the Beatles and John Denver. Moreover, Domingo has played in films of opera, amongst them "Turandot," "Aida" and "The Merry Widow." "La Traviata," also filmed, was recently shown on Soviet screens.

Articles about Placido Domingo often claim that he is a favourite of fortune, a talent to whom everything comes too easily. "Audiences and journalists only see the outside of a performance, when the performer has no right to sing otherwise than easily or freely, otherwise he ought not to appear on the stage. But few people know the cost of this 'ease,'" Domingo said at a press conference.

Konstantin Batyushkov, the 19th-century Russian poet, once said that "poetry demands the whole of a man." These words are applicable to any occupation if the practitioner wants to achieve outstanding results.

Placido works hard on each of his parts, following the advice of the American artist James Whistler to the effect that the work should conceal any trace of work. He does so even today, when he has achieved fame and become a top-flight professional performer.

Performer, Man, Citizen

Talking to Placido Domingo, I once touched upon the attitude of workers in the arts to those complex and controversial processes that are so characteristic of our time.

"You want to know what role the performer plays in life rather than on the stage," he said, repeating my question. After a pause he continued: "I think we performers contribute to social processes primarily by our art. What are the best operas about? Take 'Tosca,' 'Werther,' 'Eugene Onegin,' 'The Queen of Spades,' 'Carmen' and others. They are first and foremost about the depth and strength of feeling. About spiritual beauty and selflessness. Finally, about self-sacrifice—in the name of noble ideals. The loss of these ideals is a tragedy because in this way not only is the world made the poorer but its fate is sealed. It is to avert this tragedy and not let the beautiful in man die that I go out onto the stage. Moreover, I think that art is intrinsically international and that it unites people, providing a link between them. One can say that artists are ambassadors of peace. But I am not merely a performer but also a human being who rejects cruelty or anything that makes man suffer, a human being opposed to the threat of war. I do all I can to help avert this threat."

He said that in June 1981. Some years later I realized that what Domingo had said was more than just words.

We all remember the tragedy that struck Mexico in the autumn of 1985, when a strong earthquake hit Mexico City with its population of millions. Tens of thousands of people were killed, badly injured or left homeless.

Placido Domingo was shaken. "Today, and I myself realized it when I personally visited Mexico City, many people in the Mexican capital have neither homes nor jobs. Help must be given to these people as soon as possible," he told journalists. He went into action heart and soul. He suspended most of his contracts and gave a series of gala con-

Placido Domingo (left) and Alfredo Kraus rehearsing.
Photo from Cambio 16 (Spain)

certs, donating all the box office returns to a fund for the victims of the disaster. With his friends he set up an organization to provide relief.

Fascism and the "Talent Drain"

Domingo's civic attitude explains in many ways his self-imposed exile: he lives away from Spain.

The Spanish have a rueful joke that their country is one of the world's leading exporters of talent. Take the great Pablo Picasso, who to the end of his days was unable to realize his dream of returning home and died in France. Nobel Prize-winning poet Juan Ramon Jimenez spent the last decades of his life away from his native Spain, and leading film director Luis Bunuel died in exile. It is only comparatively recently that Rafael Alberti, Damaso Alonso, José Bergamin, Francisco Ayala and other poets and writers returned to Spain. Many musicians had to live in exile for long years and many of them never returned to their homeland, among them Manuel de Falla, who died in Argentina, and cellist Pablo Casals, who was buried in Puerto Rico.

The cause of this forced "export of talents" was Francoism, which demonstrated anew that fascism and true art are incompatible.

Placido Domingo's parents also left Spain, never to return. Placido himself saw Madrid, his birthplace, only in 1970. The situation on the national musical scene oppressed him. The country which had given world many outstanding singers (amongst them Montserrat Caballé, Jaime Aragall, and Alfredo Kraus) had no operatic company. The once famous zarzuela was in its death throes. Only flamenco was flourishing, and that merely because it was a tourist attraction.

Now that Franco's tyranny is a thing of the past, Placido Domingo considers it his duty to help restore the erstwhile fame of the national music. To this end, in spite of his tight schedule and frequent guest performances, he regularly takes part in music festivals in Madrid.

Domingo, generally speaking, is an ardent propagandist for opera. He does not share the theory, fashionable in the West today, that opera has exhausted itself. He believes that the art of opera is going through a crisis. New artistic forms that answer to the dynamic and even feverish pace of our life today are emerging. Yet today's audiences need operas created by gifted people, and Placido Domingo uses his great prestige to popularize this viewpoint at every opportunity.

In June 1981, for instance, he joined well-known performers Renata Scotto and Sherrill Milnes to give a free performance of "Tosca" in New York's Central Park. A similar performance was given a year later in Madrid's Retiro Park.

Recently Placido Domingo was to sing before huge audiences in London's Wembley stadium. Yet, having learned that the administration had priced the tickets at 15 to 50 pounds, he refused to appear. Love of music does not depend on the size of one's wallet, he explained.

On January 23, Placido Domingo celebrated his 46th birthday. He is at the peak of his career and continues to perform, though he is planning to turn from singing to conducting. Moreover, he has already made his debut as a conductor, appearing with the New York Metropolitan Opera in 1986.

Anatoly MEDVEDENKO

Madrid—Moscow

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Changing Face of an Ancient Land

ALBERT GRIGORYANTS

Palm trees, stunted olives and fantastic cactuses, a stony yellow landscape with rare tufts of grass. Small flocks of sheep and herds of goats. Their fodder is meagre. But gourmands praise the amazing fragrance of the meat of these animals that have to cover long distances daily in search of dry blades of grass. Djerba is a Tunisian island open to scorching winds in the south of Gabès Gulf, a speck of land lapped by a warm and tender sea.

We drive past occasional houses with windowless walls, and elegant white hotels with tennis courts and golf courses. I see a peasant with a donkey pulling his plough, and small groups of peasant women keeping close to the side of the road. The women wear straw hats over head scarfs, the brims pulled low over their eyes. It is hot and quiet.

Let us concentrate for a moment and listen to the passage of time. It only takes a little imagination to see Homer's Odysseus landing on the sandy beach, and the consecutive waves of invaders. This island was a fief of Carthage and Rome; it has seen Vandals, Byzantines, Arabs, Sicilians, Spaniards and Turks. We entered the coolness of the museum in Houmt-Souk, a small town famous for its bazaar, chased copper and jewellery. The museum has an impressive collection of Arab and Berber national costumes and Moslem and Hebrew ornaments. There is a large Jewish community on the island. Another attraction are the potteries. Under the gaze of white-skinned tourists an old potter turns a lump of clay into an exquisite oil jar. This is an ancient art that has preserved many elements of the ceramics of the Greeks, Arabs and Turks, and even of Bukhara and Samarkand. But the roar of a jet engine brings us back to the 20th century. Planes from many European countries land at the tiny island's airport.

Without fear of being accused of banality, it can be said of Tunisia, a small North African state with a population of about seven million, that it is a worthy successor to many past civilizations and cultures—Roman, Arab and Berber. One feels the influence of nearby Europe, especially the art of Italy and Spain and, in particular, Andalusia, brought here by settlers.

A beautiful panorama of the bay with its ancient ruins opens up from Byrsa Hill (Bull's Hide). Once there was a huge and bustling city here. Founded in 814 B.C., it became the capital of a mighty state—Carthage. But the exhortations of Cato the Elder were fulfilled. It is well known that he concluded every speech in the Roman Senate with the phrase, "Besides, I believe that Carthage must be destroyed." The victor's hatred for his sworn enemy was so great that not even the ruins of the ancient capital of the enterprising, resourceful and cocky Carthaginians were allowed to stand. The Romans covered them with earth and built a new city over them.

Tunisian museums and especially their collections of antiquities are in a class of their own. The National Museum housed in the former summer palace of Tunisian beys has a breathtaking collection of mosaics lavishly depicting motifs from Roman mythology.

Late in the 7th century the unfortunate Carthage was subjected to a new devastation—invasion by Arabs bringing with them Islam. In Monastir a ninth-century mosque has remained intact. A bearded young man gave us a vacant stare as he bowed towards Mecca. In Tunis, the capital, we spent much time in the Medina, the medieval part of the city, roaming the narrow streets past mosques with minarets, madrasahs and mausoleums and the rows of stalls in the bazaar. We entered an ancient Arab house. The ceiling was covered with delicately carved plaster and the walls with green and yellow majolica. Graceful columns lined the inner court. This house really is a survival from the past, yet sitting at tables in the halls inside were modern young men and women in jeans and track shoes: the building is a youth club where young people pursue such interests as painting, poetry and drama.

But modern times are changing the country's appearance. Tunisia is a relatively developed Third World state. In per capita income it ranks fourth in Africa. Its economic growth and political stability have been assured by the output of five million tons of oil a year and large quantities of phosphates, the export of olive oil, cork and quality wines, and the influx of petrodollars from Persian Gulf countries. Tunisians are building on a large scale, rationally and with elements of Moorish architecture. Mass housing construction in new residential areas differs little from modern European standards. But there is a local feature, a colour scheme typical of Tunisia: an abundance of white with dashes of blue.

The country is making a major effort to develop export and tourism. In Sousse district, strawberries, melons and tomatoes are grown in hothouses covering a huge area. Most of the produce is for export, while the remainder is intended for wealthy tourists. Expensive hotels serve clients shrimps, melon with Parma ham and ice cream with strawberries. But most of the tourists are ordinary people of modest means.

Whims of Fortune

It is common knowledge that fortune is a fickle lady, and it now seems that she is turning her back on this ancient land. There are alarming signs. Oil revenues have dropped by 50 per cent, tourism is bringing in less money (the American bombing raids against Libya have frightened away thousands of tourists from neighbouring Tunisia) and poor harvests due to drought have further aggravated the economic situation. Foreign cash earnings are dwindling. The balance of payments deficit is growing, along with dependence on Western creditors: the foreign debt has reached $5 billion. We were told that the International Monetary Fund is closely following all the twists and turns of the economic situation. Its recommendations are sounding more and more like orders. And the message being conveyed is that there should be a "liberalization" of the economy and a "rationalization" of domestic demand. The defreezing of prices has been started already and will be continued. The cost of living is growing and this will obviously be intensified by the recent devaluation of the Tunisian dinar. International financiers are increasing pressure on Tunisia, demanding that it

toughen its social policy, reduce "capital-intensive" projects, denationalize state-owned companies and encourage the private sector.

There are plans to cut subsidies on a number of basic foodstuffs. But the government is acting warily after the "bread riots" of 1984 when bread prices were doubled. It is taking measures to protect the poorest families from the consequences of the new policy. But its material resources are limited.

The economic troubles are affecting the political situation as well. It is deteriorating. There is constant debate on the question of the "succession," with tactful but increasingly widespread discussions of the prospect of 83-year-old president for life Habib Bourguiba, who has led the country since independence, retiring from the political scene. Rumours leaking from the presidential residence, the Carthage Palace, are discussed by businessmen and journalists in the bar of the local Hilton Hotel. They note the firm character of the head of state. He has divorced his wife after 24 years of marriage. This is no mere family drama, but a reflection of the political struggle. His wife's attempts to intercede on behalf of a man who had been involved in shady dealings brought about the rupture, as this ran counter to the president's policy of eradicating corruption and bringing the administrative apparatus into line. The stern measures being taken against the forces of the opposition are evidence of the aggravation of the political situation.

Last summer the president appointed a new prime minister—Rachid Sfar, a specialist in economics and finance. His governmnt is taking measures to enliven the economy. In a speech in parliament the Prime Minister claimed that the government had succeeded in overcoming some of the difficulties experienced by the state and improved the financial balance.

The Desert Shrinks

By its cautious and restrained policy right across the board Tunisia is striving to ensure for itself peace and normal conditions for development. "Let the principle that mankind is one family triumph," said the governor of Djerba. Mahmoud Messaadi, chairman of the Chamber of Deputies and a prominent Tunisian writer, said that it is the duty of members of parliament to ensure respect for the fundamentals of international law and prevent jungle law from prevailing in international affairs. But the Israeli bombs dropped on a suburb of Tunis on October 1, 1985, were a reminder that even a "moderate" and on the whole pro-Western policy cannot protect a developing country from the crude arbitrariness of the neoglobalists and their underlings.

This act of terrorism did not affect Tunisia's foreign policy. As was stated by Rachid Sfar, the government will continue its policy of consolidating cooperation with "all states loyal to the cause of freedom, justice and peace."

Two generations of Tunisians have been born in the years since independence.

This course is embodied in, for instance, Soviet-Tunisian relations, which are based on equality, mutual understanding and cooperation. The positions of our countries coincide or are close on most international problems and especially on the question of a settlement in the Middle East. Business ties are developing well. We buy Tunisian superphosphates and olive oil and repair our ships there. In turn, we sell tractors, machine tools, ammonia, sawn timber and other commodities. A protocol on trade up to the year 1990 has been signed to make our trade more balanced and stable.

Soviet assistance in the construction of hydrotechnical projects in Tunisia is the most important aspect of our economic and technical cooperation. A number of dams have been built. Their main function is to help solve Tunisia's major economic problem, providing water.

We drove dozens of kilometres across semidesert before we saw green fields. The closeness of water was palpable. We were shown the Djoumine dam and reservoir, built with Soviet technical assistance. Life-giving water filled the reservoir to the brim. But construction continues, and we heard the rumble of machinery at the site and a mixture of Arabic and Russian words.

This part of Bizerte looks exactly as it did centuries ago.

Photos by Y. Korolyov

The engineer who served as our guide was fairly fluent in Russian. It turned out that he was a graduate of the Tunisian National School of Engineering, which was built with Soviet assistance. Its director, Mohamed Friya, a rather young man, told us that the school was a symbol of good relations between our countries. About 2,500 engineers have already graduated from the school and its permanent staff includes 40 Soviet teachers. As well as training personnel, Mohamed Friya went on, the school performs two other functions: it conducts research and gives direct assistance to the country's economic development. The director expressed the hope that the Soviet Union would give further assistance in these areas.

The streets of Tunisian towns are colourful and populous. One cannot help noticing that there are many children, for the most part in school uniforms and carrying satchels. Indeed, every third person in the country is engaged in some form of study. The ancient land of Tunisia is preparing itself for the future.

Tunis—Moscow

New Lease of Life for Old Recipes

Joint Researches by Soviet and Mongolian Scientists

"There is nothing in the world that cannot be used as a medicine." This sentence from an old medical treatise "Zhud-shi" is inscribed in huge gold letters over the entrance to the biologically active substances laboratory at the Natural Sciences Institute in Ulan Ude, the capital of the Buryat autonomous republic. The word laboratory is something of a misnomer for this large well-equipped research complex whose staff are dedicated to the noble and challenging task of bringing back to medicine what it seems to have lost over the ages—the experience of oriental healers who used organic substances as drugs. Clinical practice shows that in some cases these are far more effective than chemical drugs and, furthermore, they have no adverse side effects.

Probing the Secrets

Sergei Nikolayev, chief of the laboratory, first takes me to the holy of holies, a unique library which contains the source material, so to speak. It is the most extraordinary library I have ever seen. Each ancient oriental manuscript, made up of sheets up to half a metre wide, is wrapped in decorative silk, often with embroidery. Particularly valuable books are kept in caskets or mahogany trunks.

Doctoring in the olden days was a secret business. Before reading a medical book, a doctor took an oath not to divulge its content to outsiders. The translators and researchers from Ulan Ude have the reverse task: they want to reveal the secrets of the ancient manuscripts as quickly as possible. To do so, it is not enough to have a perfect command of the Tibetan language. A thorough knowledge of oriental medicine, intelligence and a good deal of intuition are also necessary. The medicine men of old carefully guarded the secrets of their trade, and often couched their records in cryptic language, encoding their recipes. Every page presents a modern scholar with riddles. Here is a suggested cure for heart disease: mix parsley, hawthorn, ledum, mallow and add the ground bone of a dinasaur. Some recipes are not only enigmatic, but dangerous from the medical point of view. For example, the book entitled "The Basis of Longevity" refers to various uses of mercury which supposedly prolongs human life. Yet now everyone knows that even small doses of mercury are toxic. Another strange recipe offers sulphur mixed with beetroot as a cure for measles.

This is not to cast aspersions on ancient medical practices. I have cited these examples to show how difficult it is to unravel the secrets of the ancient scrolls. And yet the team of enthusiasts from Ulan Ude have, after a decade of intense work, deciphered many pages of the ancient books. They have translated fundamental works on Tibetan medicine, and ancient commentaries on them. A bibliographical index has been put out. The translation of four volumes of the treatise "Che-ru-dshi," the work of many years, is nearing completion. "Atlas of Tibetan Medicine," prepared in Ulan Ude, is shortly to be published in Moscow in European languages under the auspices of UNESCO.

"Oriental medicine is part of man's common heritage, and reviving it on a modern basis is impossible without broad international cooperation," says Sergei Nikolayev. To prove his point, he cites the close links his laboratory has with the Folk Medicine Institute in Ulan Bator.

Soviet and Mongolian colleagues have been coordinating their work closely for many years. They have been exchanging scientists, ancient treatises and modern research methods. At the request of their Mongolian colleagues, scientists in Ulan Ude study medicinal herbs encountered only in Mongolia and, when necessary, send equipment and test animals to Ulan Bator.

"While remaining independent scientific units, we have formed ourselves into an international team tackling a common theme," stresses Sergei Nikolayev. "The results of our joint work are reported in a joint publication, 'Medicinal Herbs Used in Mongolian and Tibetan Medicine,' soon to be published in Ulan Bator."

I asked Marks Mokhosoyev, who heads the Buryat section of the Siberian branch of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, to comment on this cooperation.

"It is not just a pooling of effort," he said. "Ours is an academic institute mainly concerned with basic research. The Mongolian unit operates under the Ministry of Health and is geared to meet the needs of practising doctors, providing them with new drugs made from recipes in old manuscripts. Science as a whole stands to gain from our cooperation. The most important thing, of course, is the benefit it brings to thousands of patients and to the medical services of the two countries."

With a Pinch of Salt

The Mongolian team is headed by Dr Tsendyn Khaidav, corresponding member of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences. Raised in a nomad herder's tent, he began his medical career almost half a century ago, when as a 17-year-old lad he joined the staff of a hospital. At the time Mongolia had few doctors of its own and many specialists from the U.S.S.R. were helping to treat patients. Khaidav was apprenticed to doctor Kuznetsov. It was he who advised the bright young boy to go to study medicine in the Soviet Union.

On returning home with a college diploma, Khaidav became the head of a chemist's shop. There was a severe shortage of drugs. The young pharmacist tried to remember the herbs used among nomads. He asked the cattle-breeders about the herbs they used to treat various ailments. He got conflicting replies. Old people unanimously referred him to the sacred books preserved in monasteries. To be able to read the ancient manuscripts, Khaidav joined a Tibetan language class at the university. He collected ancient books in monasteries. With old herders as his guides, he travelled the steppes and mountains of the country to compile a comprehensive atlas of medicinal herbs found in Mongolia.

This work led to a thesis for a master's degree, "Some Historical Features of Mongolian and Tibetan Medicine," which he defended in Chernovtsy in the Soviet Union. He went on to defend a thesis for a doctor's degree at the medical institute in Ryazan, also in the Soviet Union. In 1973 a folk medicine institute was opened in Ulan Bator on Khaidav's initiative. "I'm convinced that to understand the heritage of the past one must be equipped with modern knowledge," says Khaidav. "I see it as my task to revive the experience of ancient healers on a modern basis."

The institute is subjecting folk recipes to a thorough check in order to validate them scientifically. As a rule, old recipes are not followed punctiliously. They are used to create new drugs. The oriental doctors adhered to the polypharmaceutical method of treatment, believing that the more components a drug contained, the wider its impact. In other words, they tried to use one drug to cure all diseases. Old books, for example, mention a drug called "aruga" alleged to be an effective cure for "all the 404 main diseases." No wonder the Tibetan recipes are extremely complex, containing up to 70 components.

"This approach might have been expedient in its day," says Khaidav. "But it is based on speculative thinking. Now, eight or even ten centuries later, we have to complete the work begun by ancient pharmacists: we have to check and prove the authenticity or invalidity of the old recipes."

This is what the institute's work is about. It is a formidable challenge. The basic treatise on Tibetan medicine, "Zhud-shi," dating back to the tenth century, offers cures for all diseases. Thousands of recipes are waiting to be analyzed. Modern scientists equipped with methods and instruments unknown to the medicine men of the past, become opponents or often coauthors to their ancient colleagues, who had arrived at their discoveries by trial or guess. It is truly a case of algebra checking fantasies. We are now encoding all the translated recipes to feed them into a computer in order to determine which drugs were used for which diseases in the past. This will help to identify the most promising drugs and sift out those that got there by accident.

Not all ancient recipes stand up to scientific analysis. Sometimes it takes years of research only to disprove a recipe, or a drug manufactured from old recipes reveals properties totally different from those ascribed to them by our ancestors. It also happens that ancient books prompt new directions for research.

For instance, we have mentioned the old recipe advising the use of mercury to prolong life. By comparing various manuscripts and carrying out a series of experiments, Mongolian and Soviet scientists have established that what was actually referred to was not mercury but some of its compounds, which can not only prolong life, but rejuvenate the human organism.

So nature has provided man not only with herbs and animal substances, but also with healing minerals.

Healing stones? Why not? The most important minerals in oriental medicine included mica, alabaster, granite, feldspar, and sulphur. Feldspar, for example, was burned, mixed with various herbs and used to cure stomach disorders. Old books suggest various rocks for the treatment of diabetes and bronchial asthma. Minerals are supposedly effective for some kinds of cancer, and for rehabilitating brain haemorrhage patients. All this information is being checked experimentally. It is too early to speak of the final results. But there is strong evidence to show that some rocks can provide powerful protection for the organism against radioactive contamination.

Khaidav showed me a glass case containing dozens of vials and little boxes. I read the labels. "Nejrovalenum" has a tranquillizing effect and brings down blood pressure. "Rosacerevitum" is a vitamin effective to prevent rickets in newborn babies. "Lilicoaqulantum" has proved effective to stop bleeding. "Carosinum" is good for skin diseases and allergy, and "Stellariaphytinum" for respiratory ailments. "Shigatussinum" and "Ephedrolum" are very popular anti-flu and common cold drugs in Mongolia. "Dendronizylum" and "Procaprinum" have a tonic and energizing effect.

"All these drugs based on ancient recipes are made from natural materials. They are pure and totally harmless," says Khaidav. "We have achieved some successes thanks to our collaboration with Soviet scientists. But a lot of work lies ahead. Nature can and must be our main pharmacy."

Before I left, Dr Khaidav showed me a letter from the Soviet Ministry of Health asking to send the results of the latest research along with the necessary documents. The Mongolian colleagues have already dispatched the material to Moscow. Some of the new drugs will probably be on sale in Soviet pharmacies soon.

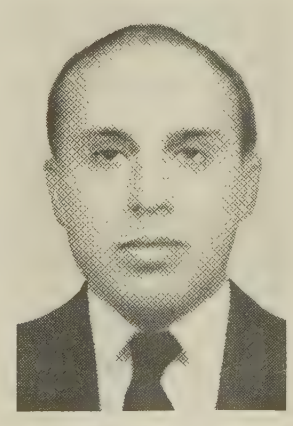
So the scientists of the two countries are contributing to people's health.

Valery KONDAKOV

Ulan Ude — Ulan Bator — Moscow

PEOPLE ON THE WORLD SCENE

ABDUL WAKIL



Abdul Wakil, appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in December 1986, was born in Kabul on June 9, 1945. A Pushtun by nationality, he graduated from Habibia College and, later, from the economics faculty of Kabul University.

Abdul Wakil was directly involved in preparing the April revolution. He held the post of general secretary of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and was the D.R.A.'s ambassador to Britain.

From 1980 to 1984 he was Minister of Finance and then, until 1986, the D.R.A.'s ambassador to Vietnam.

Abdul Wakil has been a member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan since its inception in 1965. A member of the PDPA Central Committee since 1977, he is on the Revolutionary Council of the D.R.A.

On December 31, 1986, Abdul Wakil was elected a member of the Political Bureau of the PDPA Central Committee at its enlarged plenary meeting.

Abdul Wakil has repeatedly visited the Soviet Union. He accompanied General Secretary Najib during his official friendly visit to the U.S.S.R. in December 1986.

He Believed in Truth

"It's not posturing, I'm not lying—I can't. I CAN'T." One can hardly imagine that anyone other than Vladimir Vysotsky could have written this line. His "I'm not lying" is the key to everything he sang, played and wrote.

He appeared in 25 films, made several records and for sixteen years worked in the theatre. But his songs were a thing apart—they were known and sung all over the country.

He would have been 49 on January 25. "The quality of poetry depends on the poet's heart," said one article about Vysotsky, and there were many to commemorate the anniversary. The quality of his poetry always was superb—but his heart failed him.... His verses and songs remain as do his films and, most importantly, an interest in his personality, which has, moreover, continued to grow. That is why records of his verses and songs are still appearing, films and TV programmes being made and books about him written.

Below writer Ales Adamovich and poet Bulat Okudzhava give their impressions of Vladimir Vysotsky.

THE LIVING MAN— AND NOW ALREADY HISTORY

ALES ADAMOVICH

Singing like shouting? There was just something in him that kept shouting. A hoarse voice? But what if he shouted himself hoarse just to be heard?

If you work on books of people's memories and they remain vivid in your mind—you seem to be hearing the voices of those whose stories you have put down—then you will respond to Vysotsky in a special way. His songs, too, are like a shout of memory.

Take "Who says everything has burned to ashes" or "Heat me the bath-house the white way"—were they not the anguished voices of memory?

Vitaly Semin wrote a story about a young boy, almost a child, who had just returned from a nazi concentration camp: "I kept on shouting for a couple of days, perhaps.... Mother watched me in fear, then called my cousin.... They listened to my shouts for a long time, then my cousin said, as if I were not there: 'They all shout like this now. He will shout himself out and become as good as new. A boy older than Sergei returned to our neighbours' and kept shouting for four days or so, but then returned to normal....'"

And then we stopped shouting and even talking, though the memory still hurt. And all of a sudden, there came the voice and songs of Vladimir Vysotsky. A shout for all of us. Small wonder that people (and not merely the younger generation) took Vysotsky and his songs as their own—and with a vengeance!

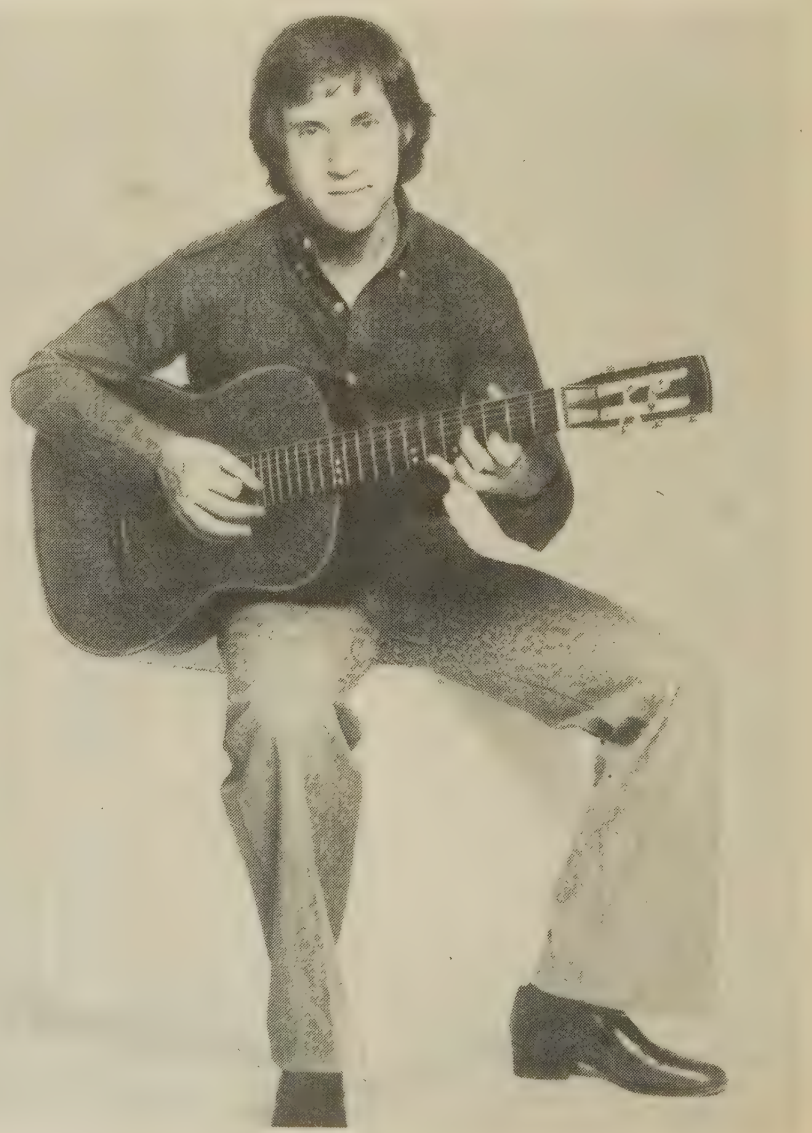
Volodya and Marina Vlady joined our crew when we were filming "Our Sons Go into Battle" in 1969. The location was near Novogrudok in Byelorussia. Vysotsky had begun to write songs for Victor Turov's films, such as "I Come From Childhood" and "War Under the Roofs," long before that. I remember him coming to Minsk a couple of years before the meeting in Novogrudok and even playing a part in our first film, "War Under the Roofs." But he was "cut" (by those who were "cutting" all our cinema, merely because they knew better than film-makers, and even the people themselves, "what the people need").

Vysotsky's songs, meanwhile, had been recorded by a professional singer.

Now he came to Novogrudok with Marina, for whom it was her father's homeland which she was yet to get to know. Just a week later she pleaded with Victor Turov and myself, "Please, talk Volodya into staying longer!"

From time to time they appeared in our "guerrilla camp," young and happy with each other and each other's talent.

There is also a roll of amateur 16-mm silent film, without a sound track. Meanwhile, the forest reverberated with Vysotsky's songs. I not only hear them but seem to see them, the veins on his neck swollen to bursting point and his eyes red with the strain.... And I see Volodya himself, talking and laughing,



youthfully bright and friendly. His voice was unexpectedly quiet and he listened more than he talked I am not sure whether he brought his songs ready or composed them there and then (those for our first and second films).

All of them (with one exception) were recently recorded under the overall title, "Our Sons Go Into Battle."...

Before we had time to look round, the living man had become history. As Chekhov says in one of his sadder stories, "How quickly it all happens!..."

THE VOICE OF THE POET

BULAT OKUDZHAVA

"Take Vysotsky," a fan of his once said. "Everyone, from the cleaning lady to the academician, loves and understands him."

He thought this was high praise for the poet and his work—but I disagreed because "universal" love is a questionable yardstick.

People nurtured on vapid, mindless entertainment will not respond to Vysotsky's poetry; his sarcasm and irony will be lost on those who are not used to thinking independently; and those who are indifferent to everything save their personal problems will remain deaf to his pain and anguish. His poetry is for them at best an empty sound and a red rag at worst.

A true poet always arouses resentment as well as adulation, and has detractors and even enemies along with devoted fans. Vladimir Vysotsky and his poetry have plenty of both and this, perhaps, is one of the most persuasive signs of his veracity and greatness.

A true poet is born to meet the spiritual needs of society. These needs are in the air, and the more acute they are, the stronger and harsher is the poet's voice. It is food for thought to those capable of thinking and Vysotsky's immense popularity derived far more from recognition on the part of those who shared his views than some "universal" love.

And there were many people who thought as he did.

I wrote two songs dedicated to him. Here is a stanza from the more recent of them:

There are some even now
who dislike his harsh cry
And want to add sweetness
to his song....
But his verses do not die,
They soar to the sky,
And if they suffer wrong
It can only make them strong. ■

Photo by V. Peterburzhsky

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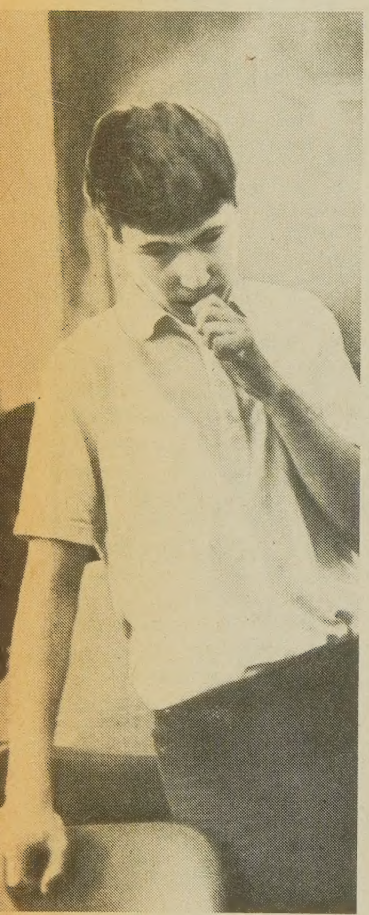
First Among the Juniors

Introducing Vasily Ivanchuk, 17, Europe's junior chess champion



The good news came from the Netherlands at the beginning of January: Ukrainian chess master Vasily Ivanchuk had won the European junior chess title. His style was fiery and his victory more than convincing: he raced through the tournament without a hitch and reached the finish far ahead of his rivals.

Until recently, Ivanchuk's name was little known in the chess world. He first appeared at the world chess championship for cadets, as we players say, that is, boys under 16, in France in the spring of 1984. He finished the tournament joint second, with only compatriot Alexei Dreyev ahead of him. I was coach to our youngsters at the contest and during preparations and the championship itself came to know Ivanchuk well.

He began to be fascinated by chess as a child. Vasily grew up in the small township of Berezhany in Ternopol Region. There was of course no "smart" chess school in the town, like those we now have in big cities. Most young players in such "backwaters" are self-taught but every now and then a real talent emerges from their midst. His father, a lawyer, encouraged the boy, and his remarkable gifts did not take long to declare themselves.

In the first days and weeks of our acquaintance I got to know him well. In every-day life, he was little more than a child, and had not yet learned to look after himself. All his energies and thoughts were directed at chess. He was never parted from a pocket chessboard and even took it with him on a sight-seeing tour of Paris.

What is important to every player, young and experienced alike, is not only such specific abilities as the sense of combinations and position, good memory, and so on, but also character. What is especially important is determination, and Ivanchuk has plenty of it. But is he not too impressionable? Of course, one can hardly imagine a great player without temperament. The fire of temperament should warm the mental activity which will run dry without it. But too much emotion can overstrain the nerves. Already in Paris I realized that Ivanchuk's development as a player would depend to a large extent on whether he could develop an "immunity" to the inevitable setbacks.

Those were my first impressions of the gifted boy, who reminded me of Mikhail Tahl at that age both in his cast of mind and dedication to the intriguing game.

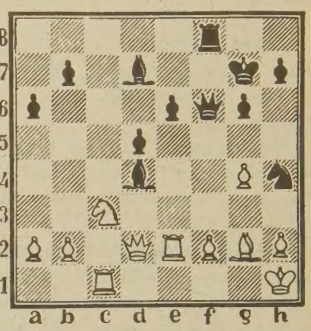
Gifted young players in our country always attract special attention, wherever they come from. Veteran Ukrainian players took Vasily under their wing. He developed professionally, playing in prestigious tournaments, and kept absorbing chess information and technique and enriching his tournament experience.

The year 1986 was a good one for him: he won the national championship for young masters (under 27), in spite of being the youngest player. Then he won first prize at the national under-20 competition, beating his old rival Dreyev and winning the right to participate in the European championship.

Ivanchuk's style is becoming more and more versatile and harmonious. He has learned the art of positional play, converting the tiniest advantage into a win, which is the classic mark of chess prowess. He is not as vulnerable as he once was, though this is still his Achilles' heel. Last autumn, for instance, competing in the first league of the national adult championship, he had every chance of proceeding to the main tournament. In the decisive rounds, however, he was unable to cope with the nervous strain and did not perform well.

Yet he seems to have a great future. He has now enrolled in the department of chess theory and methodology at the Lvov Institute of Physical Culture.

I would like to illustrate Vasily's skill in combinations with the end game of his match versus Joris Brenninkmeijer of the Netherlands at the European championship.



Ivanchuk, playing White, finds a beautiful and cunning way of converting this difficult position to advantage. The sequence was: 30. g5! Qf4 31. N:d5!

It is the only way. If 31. Q:f4 R:f4 32. N:d5 Rf7 (but not 32. ...ed? 33. Rc7 Rf7 34. B:d5, or 32. ...N:g2? 33. N:f4 K:f4 34. Re4, and Black has a hard time) 33. Ne3 N:g2 34. K:g2 Bc6, and Black would have a chance of putting up tough resistance.

31...Qg4 32. Ne3 B:e3 33. fe Bb5 34. Rf2 Nf5 35. Rc7 ch. Kg8 36. e4. Black resigns.

Alexei SUETIN
International Grandmaster

Photo by N. Bochku

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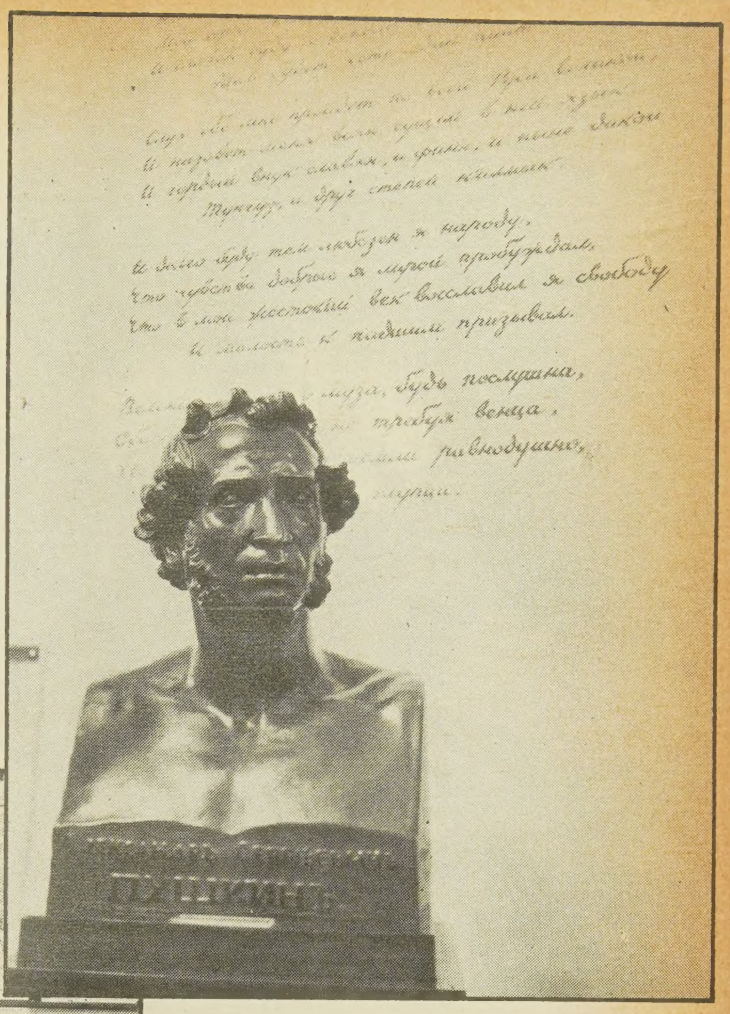
Our Pushkin

About Pushkin everything has been said. Or nearly everything. Nevertheless throughout the 150 years that have passed since his death new contingents of admirers whose name is legion have contrived to add if only a few words of affection and gratitude to the great Poet. And this is as it should be, for there is surely none other in Russian poetry so well loved, so truly revered by the entire nation as Pushkin.

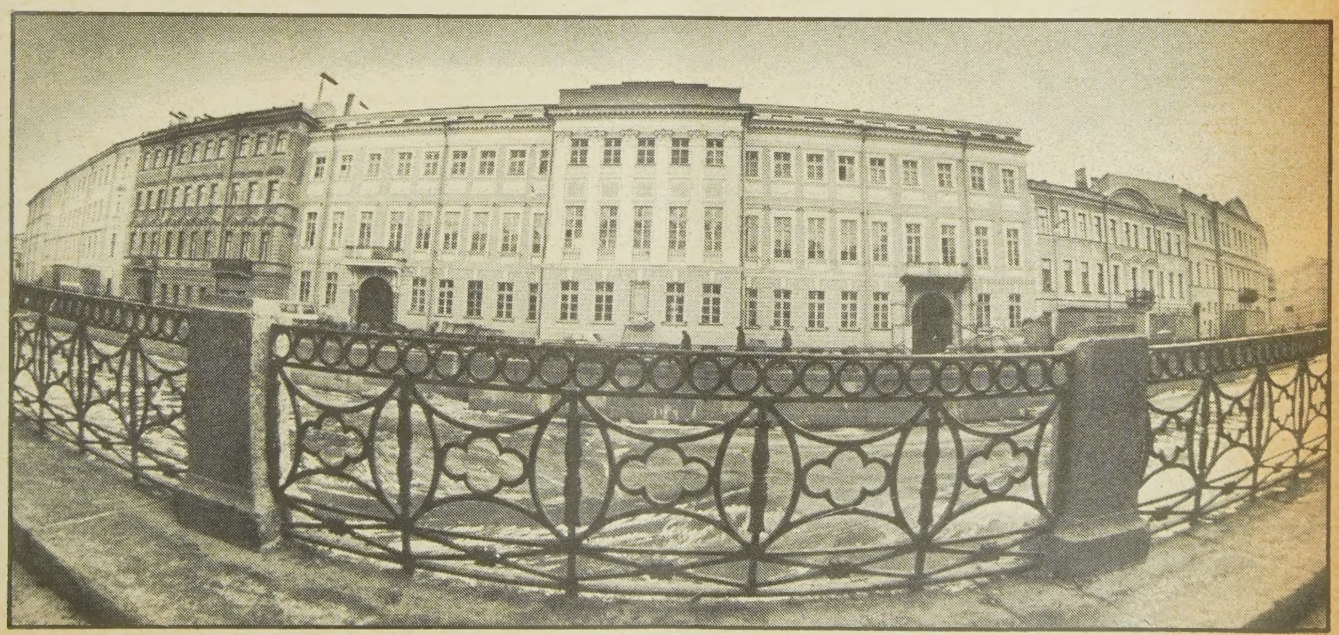
The Pushkin house in Leningrad, Pushkin's apartments on the Moika, the Pushkin Hills, and the dozens of other lesser museums dedicated to his memory are all tokens of the love cherished by the people for their great poet. When we speak of Pushkin, Soviet poet Alexander Tvardovsky said, it is immaterial whether we are observing his birthday or the day of his death. We are not celebrating his name's day or mourning him it is simply another occasion for renewing our acquaintance with his poetry and hence with the poet himself for immersing ourselves in the brilliance of his mind, his character, his personality.



Photos by Y. Rost and TASS

Some 30,000 works of art, more than 66,000 books and dozens of other priceless memorabilia are preserved in the repositories of the State Pushkin Museum in Moscow.

The Pushkin Museum on the Moika in Leningrad.

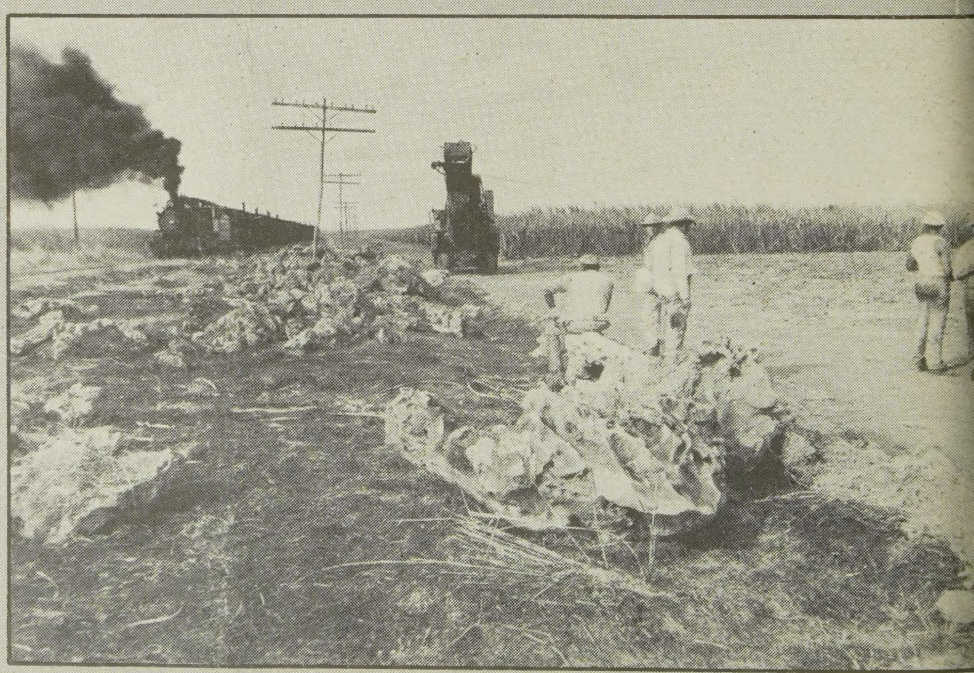


INTERNATIONAL
CONTEST

MAN AND MANKIND

Fiesta.

Ramon
Pacheco Salazar
(Cuba)



Cane Cutters.

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